

PEASANT LIFE IN INDIA

A STUDY

IN

INDIAN UNITY & DIVERSITY

COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL
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A STUDY IN INDIAN UNITY & DIVERSITY

Edited By
NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE



सत्यमेव जयते

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CALCUTTA 13

MEMOIR No. 8 : 1961

First Edition : 20th August, 1961

Second Edition : 16th September, 1967

COMH 349

600

Published by
MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS,
CIVIL LINES, DELHI-6.

COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL
47/1. (First Floor) St. Marks Road,
Bangalore - 560 001.

Printed in India by
MANAGER GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS,
FARIDABAD (HARYANA).

DAIM. 11
750

Price : Inland Rs. 21.00

Foreign £ 2.52 or 7 \$ 56 cents

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
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FOREWORD

The undersigned has pleasure in submitting the present report on the material culture of rural India. The survey was planned in 1959 and Dr. Surajit Chandra Sinha, Superintending Anthropologist and Officer-in-Charge of the Central India Station, was placed in command over the operation. A team of workers coming from all over India was selected specially for this purpose, and they have also furnished their specific findings which form separate chapters in the present report. I have pleasure in recording that the entire team under Dr. Sinha worked as a happy family, and it has only been on account of their joint endeavours that this overall picture of India has been built up within the short period of less than two years.

It is necessary at this point to record with a deep sense of gratitude the voluntary aid given by Sm Manju Sen, Sarvasree Ranjit Dasgupta and Dibyendu Raychaudhuri in the preparation of the maps. Shri Kalikinkar Ghosh Dastidar and Shri Kalisadhan Samanta also placed their help unstintedly in preparing the beautiful pen and ink drawings which illustrate the whole report.

The authorities of the Venus Printing Works also deserve our special thanks, as it has been only through their willing co-operation that we have been able to place the report finally before the public within a comparatively short time.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE
DIRECTOR

20 August 1961
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

INTRODUCTION

As one goes through separate sections of the present report, one is struck by a general accordance between the findings in regard to various items of material culture in rural India. Firstly, there is a certain measure of local differentiation ; and there is also a considerable amount of interpenetration in almost every case. Secondly, the boundaries of the culture areas or sub-areas do not tally with Grierson's boundaries of either linguistic families like Indo-Aryan and Dravidian or of branches within either of these families. Material items of culture seem to have independent extensions of their own; and these, very roughly, tend to be in accord with one another. On their basis, India becomes divided very roughly into two distinguishable, but overlapping, regions meeting at a broad zone which runs from Maharashtra to Bihar in some cases and to Orissa or West Bengal in others. This broad belt has also been the area where several material traits have interpenetrated again and again bringing about changes in form or function.

Thus, for instance, village plans in India have a certain rough distinction between north and south. The north is the area of shapeless clusters, often broken up into dispersed units, while southern villages are, on the whole, distinguished by the presence of open streets as an integral part of the lay-out. Oil-presses too can be divided into the Peninsular and Northern types. A certain amount of infiltration has taken place which has sometimes modified form and sometimes function. Yet, a broad regionalism is evident. The form of the plough also yields to a kind of geographical classification. Here, however, the types are not northern and southern; but what prevails in the south extends way up into Bihar. Some less extensive styles are localized in both north-eastern and north-western India. The wheels of bullock-carts similarly show a regional distinction; and this comes closer to the plough in distribution than to either village types or to oil-presses.

It will also be noticed in many cases that styles present in India have affiliation with styles in neighbouring countries. The presence of one or two special varieties of the plough and yoke, and of portable multi-socketed wooden mortars for husking paddy take us over to some portions of South-east Asia. And similar affinities can be drawn in relation to domestic architecture between India and Sumatra.

A very important item has been deliberately left out in the present preliminary report. This is, methods of pottery manufacture, as well as the forms of earthen vessels. Work is now proceeding on this subject.

From the information which has already been gathered in regard to these items, it appears that relationships can be established on their basis as much with South-east Asia as with countries lying to the west and north-west of India. This is not strange, for India has been in historical contact with countries lying both to the west and east for many centuries of her history. Our guess is that this relationship stretches back into the pre-historic past; for simple methods of pottery manufacture by hand, or processes of cooking food, etc., must have been practised long before the rise of urban civilization. And these help us in establishing cultural relationships which have been overlaid by later movements.

India has been a land where cultures have mingled after flowing in from both the west and the east. But what is original is that new combinations have taken place here, and sometimes even new inventions. It is not our purpose at the present moment to enter into the depths of cultural history, but to indicate in the beginning of the present series of surveys that broad regional distinctions are even now discernible in the material culture of India, as well as sufficient proof of their interpenetration.

Two things, again, stand out clearly in relation to this aspect of the question. One is that this regionalism seems to be on the whole independent of language as well as of physical types. This means that the plough or the husking mortar and pestle, the unsewn cloth worn and regarded as ritually pure by women, the forms of villages, of oil-presses and methods of cooking food in oil, etc., etc., show a kind of kinship between the peasant folk, the weaver, the potter, etc., of various parts of India which is quite likely to be overlooked.

The second observation which can be made here is, however, not in relation to the material traits which have been classified and geographically located as in the present report. But that is with reference to other kinds of traits which the Anthropological Survey of India has a desire to investigate more fully, and in which pilot schemes have already been set in operation.

If regionalization is in evidence to a certain extent in relation to the material arts of life, it is apparent already that the degree of differentiation is less in respect of the country's social organization.

Let us take the case of caste and the productive organization with which it became intimately associated and identified to a certain extent. From the little work which has already been accomplished, it appears that there is a slight distinction between a Northern and Southern type of the organization of caste. Similarities are many; so that distinctions are based on finer shades only, quite unlike the distinctions which mark off common material objects of life from one another. Yet, it appears possible to draw a subtle distinction as one looks at selected aspects of the organization of caste as it has survived to the present day.

What is even more assuring is that, as one considers other spheres of life, namely, things like laws which guide inheritance or define the rights and duties of individuals in a kin group, or if one rises to higher reaches of life confined to ideals or faiths or art, the differences which one has noticed at the material level of life gradually become feeble and feebler. They are eventually replaced by a unity of beliefs and aspirations which gives to Indian civilization a character of its own.

The structure of Indian unity can, therefore, be compared to a pyramid. There is more differentiation at the material base of life and progressively less as one mounts higher and higher. It is needless to say that the implication is not that village people are more different from one another than city people or sophisticated and propertied classes; but that, whether it is a villager or a dweller of Indian towns, there is more variety in regard to some aspects of life and less in relation to others.

And, as we have said already, even the distinctions at the level of material culture override our language boundaries again and again. There is more unity in India's variety than one is likely to admit in moments of forgetfulness. And if this lesson can be brought home by means of the labours of the Anthropological Survey of India, every worker in that department will feel amply rewarded.

A deep acquaintance with the facts of life is perhaps the best introduction to any form of social science.

The existence of the broad division of the Indian sub-continent in material traits in terms of North-western and South and Eastern Zones, was indicated in one of my earlier essays "Culture Zones of India", *Geographical Review of India*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1956, pp. 1-11.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROJECT

A preliminary schedule for guiding a pilot survey of sixteen contiguous districts in Madhya Pradesh (Jabalpur Division) and Maharashtra (Nagpur Division) was drawn up in March, 1959. Two workers were entrusted with this pilot survey during May and June 1959, and a photographer was sent along with them. The first instruction was to spend four or five days in a village, preferably inhabited by several castes. This preliminary report was scrutinized, difficulties assessed, and while the schedule was slightly modified (Ref. : Appendix I), it was also decided that the period of stay in a village should be extended to a week.

The personnel for the project were selected between August and October, 1959. Out of sixteen persons who bore the major load of the survey, nine were from the existing staff of the Survey and seven were new recruits. Of these, except for two sociologists and two geographers, all others were M.A. or M.Sc. in anthropology. Besides the above sixteen whole-time workers, there were also some who made important contributions to this survey : Sarvasree K. N. Thusu (Kashmir and Madhya Pradesh), Biman Das Gupta, H. Banerjee and Tarashish Mukherjee (West Bengal), D. Hazra and J. S. Tandon (Madhya Pradesh).

Before sending the various workers to the field, each person was given to study a village in Nagpur District, under supervision, so that the implications of the schedules would become clear. In allotting the work to different persons, as shown below, it was decided that the surveyor should have a fair knowledge of the language of the area where he could work without the help of any interpreter. The distribution of work was as follows :

State	Surveyors
ASSAM	N. K. Shyam Choudhury S. K. Biswas
WEST BENGAL	J. Datta Gupta S. Nandy
ORISSA	N. K. Behura
ANDHRA	E. Ramaswamy
MADRAS	C. R. Rajalakshmi
KERALA	P. R. G. Mathur
MYSORE	S. G. Morab
MAHARASHTRA	M. S. Ardhapure S. Mukherjee
GUJARAT	M. S. Ardhapure
RAJASTHAN	P. K. Misra
UTTAR PRADES	D.S. Tyagi, B. N. Saraswati, S. Mukherjee, P. K. Das Gupta
PUNJAB	D. S. Tyagi
HIMACHAL PRADESH	P. K. Das Gupta
BIHAR	S. K. Ganguly
MADHYA PRADESH	B. Ray Chaudhuri S. K. Biswas
KASHMIR	K.N. Thusu

Data were collected from 311 out of 322 districts of India during the field-seasons of October, 1959 to March, 1960 and October, 1960 to March 1961. Although, in the majority of the districts only one village was studied per district, there were some cases where more than one village was surveyed for representing important variations due to ecological or ethnic differentiation in the different portions of a district. Thus, altogether 430 villages were studied. In surveying the various districts, while we have avoided the urban centres, typical isolated tribal villages also have been by-passed, except in districts like Ranchi, Bastar or the Garo Hills where the latter form the majority of the population.

As the data began to arrive from the field, they were transferred to cards of 9" 5" (Appendix III). The 19 items in the original schedule (Appendix I) were broken down to 41 headings (Appendix II).

The present preliminary report is based on 11 selected basic traits, viz., settlement pattern, house type, food, fats or oils used, costumes of men and women, foot-gear, bullock cart, plough, husking implements and oil press. While engaged in field-work, each worker surveyed a number of districts in a particular State. But while preparing the all-India report each chapter was entrusted to one or more of these workers.

The preparation of detailed reports on these eleven traits as well as the transference of the entire data to cards will be completed by the end of 1961. Preparation of notes and reports on the other material traits, such as basketry, pottery, etc., and also on village gods and festivals and sanitary hygienic practices will follow.

It is the aim of the Anthropological Survey of India to make the basic data (in cards) available to any research organization or scholar for consultation. For this, it is essential either to make a number of typed copies of these cards or to microfilm the entire data.

We gratefully acknowledge our deep appreciation of the labour of love from Professor S. D. Kaushik, Head of the Department of Geography, Hapur College, Hapur, for his generous help in guiding and supervising our Survey in north-western India.

Besides providing a significant picture of cultural distribution on the material level, one of the aims of this survey was to train up a group of young anthropologists in accurate observation of cultural facts, in viewing the same facts in significant relationship with the natural environment, language and ethnic affiliation and to learn how to make a significant classification of the same facts in terms of structure and function. With all the necessary limitations of a project which had to be completed within a short time, we hope that our two objectives, namely, mapping the whole of India at least on the level of some concrete cultural facts and the training of personnel by developing a spirit of teamwork, has been partly fulfilled.

As the general supervisor of the project I must put on record that the tenacity and enthusiasm with which the members of the project have gone about their work has been a source of great inspiration for me.

It has been a great privilege for us to work under the general leadership of Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose. He not only provided the basic theoretical and methodological framework for the project but inspired the whole team at every phase of its development by his working habits and brilliant insights.

10 August 1961

Surajit Chandra Sinha

I FORMS OF VILLAGES

SANTIBHUSAN NANDI

D. S. TYAGI

A large portion of India's population lives in villages ; these are more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs in number. Some of them are small and even uninhabited, while others are large with a population reaching in extra-ordinary cases upto ten thousand.

The inhabitants of a village may be farmers or traders or artisans or scholars or priests ; and a village can be classified according to the occupation of the majority of its inhabitants. Villagers may, moreover, belong to a single tribe, or may differ from one another in caste or religious persuasion; and this may give us another means of classification of types. But one of the most useful and objective means is furnished by the physical form taken by a village. From this point of view, the following different orders can be distinguished in India. Each type has a fairly wide range of variation so that instances may not be rare when it becomes difficult to determine if a particular example should be placed in one category or another.

These orders are:

- (1) Shapeless Cluster or agglomerate with streets not forming an integral part of the design. These may be of the (i) massive or (ii) dispersed type, in which the village is reckoned to consist of an assemblage of discrete clusters of comparatively small size.

It may be noted here that in villages belonging to this order there may be a tortuous or irregular road ; but this grows according to local requirements, not as part of the original design.

- (2) Linear Cluster or assemblage with a regular open space or straight street provided between parallel rows of houses.
- (3) Square or Rectangular Cluster or agglomerate with straight streets running parallel or at right angles to one another.
- (4) Villages formed of Isolated Homesteads, a number of which are treated together as a mauza for convenience of collection of rent or taxes.

Various factors are involved in the origin and character of a rural settlement. Wherever possible, these have to be

taken into account during classification. Thus, an example of Shapeless Cluster may be enclosed by a protective stone wall or wooden palisade for purposes of defence. If it lies on the top of a narrow ridge in a mountainous country, it may take on an elongated form. But, after comparison with a number of other examples in the same neighbourhood,



Small Clusters of huts in the Punjab Himalayas

the proper course might be to regard it as belonging to the first instead of the second order. The same thing may happen when a village of the first order is built on a levee in a flooded district. Linear Clusters may, again, grow in size as population increases and parallel streets may be added or streets even set at right angles to the old streets so that, eventually, a square form results which may appear like a

square as genetically related to the linear and unrelated to the massive cluster which may by accident approximate a square.

Parallelisms may also occur on account of a variety of geographical and other reasons. Thus, houses and farms may be isolated on high hills or in deserts, or in the midst of jungles as well as in shallow islands thrown up in an estuary as a river discharges its heavy load of silt.

In the high Himalayan Range, where people live with their flocks which also help them in transporting merchandise between India and Tibet (formerly), villages tend to be clustered and sometimes there is a summer and winter encampment, each of which remains unoccupied for some



Shapeless Cluster
Huts with horizontal roofs,
Western Uttar Pradesh



Isolated Homestead with central courtyard,
Birbhum District, West Bengal

shapeless cluster from a distance. But the presence of open streets as an integral part of the design and the occurrence of simpler linear forms in the same neighbourhood when the settlement is of small size should help us in regarding the

months in the year. But when the same people settle down nearer the northern plains of India and begin to cultivate potato for market, their isolated houses are set in the midst of fields which need constant attention or watching.



Isolated Huts with conical roofs,
Cudapah District, Andhra Pradesh



Isolated Homestead Central courtyard
with huts all round, 24-Parganas District, West Bengal

Settlements formed of isolated farm-houses or homesteads are thus found in various parts of India irregularly. These areas include portions of the western Malwa plateau, where they occur in association with dispersed clusters, in portions of the Western Ghats stretching from Satara towards the Kerala highlands and some portions of the high Himalayan Mountains both in Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh. In the flooded districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar we find isolates which are seasonally unoccupied in the islands thrown up in the midst of braided streams. There is no uniformity of tradition among these isolated homesteads. They seem to have grown according to the exigencies of local circumstances.

When we come to the three major orders of Shapeless Cluster and Clusters of the Linear and Square types marked by straight streets, these are confined to clearly defined contiguous expanses of land. This can hardly be due to geography, as within the areas occupied by these types, climate, soil and agricultural practices have a fairly wide range of variability and settlement types seem to have more to do with tradition than either geography or agriculture.

On an examination of the distribution map, one notices that much of the Gangetic plain, Rajasthan, the Malwa plateau and portions of Maharashtra are characterized by shapeless clusters. In western Rajasthan, in the districts of Jaisalmer and Barmer, these occur along with villages of the dispersed type. Dispersed clusters, by themselves occur over a long stretch of the Western Ghats from Thana to Kolhapur and also in portions of Kerala. The same types, namely, shapeless cluster and dispersed cluster, occur also in eastern Uttar Pradesh, portions of Madhya Pradesh and the Himalayan or sub-Himalayan districts in the north of Bihar and practically over the whole of the Brahmaputra

valley. Manipur and Mizo Districts also have examples of the clustered type.

When we come to the linear type, the best examples are observed in the coastal districts of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. This extends westwards into a large portion of the Telugu-speaking area of the former princely State of Hyderabad. Gujarat also shows the same type in large villages, and even smaller ones are formed of parallel rows



Shapeless Cluster
Huts with tiled roofs,
Varanasi District, Uttar Pradesh

separated by broad streets. This is true of Kutch and Saurashtra as well as of districts stretching from the south of Rajasthan to Surat.



Linear Cluster
Huts with horizontal roofs,
Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh

The square development of the linear, if we may call it so, extends over a solid portion of Madras State including both the dry Rayalaseema districts as well as the prosperous agricultural districts of the coastal plain.

There is an interesting feature noticeable in coastal Orissa and northern coastal Andhra. The houses tend to



Linear Cluster
Huts with central courtyard,
Puri District, Orissa

be contiguous and laid in an unbroken line, adjacent ones quite often sharing a common wall between themselves. As one proceeds southwards to Madras the arrangements remain the same, but the houses become separate. A change



Linear Cluster
Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh

is also noticed in the thatches and in the placement of the courtyard; but these are matters which will be taken up in the following chapter while dealing with dwelling houses.

An observation may be made at this stage. The total area covered by the linear and the square types cuts across



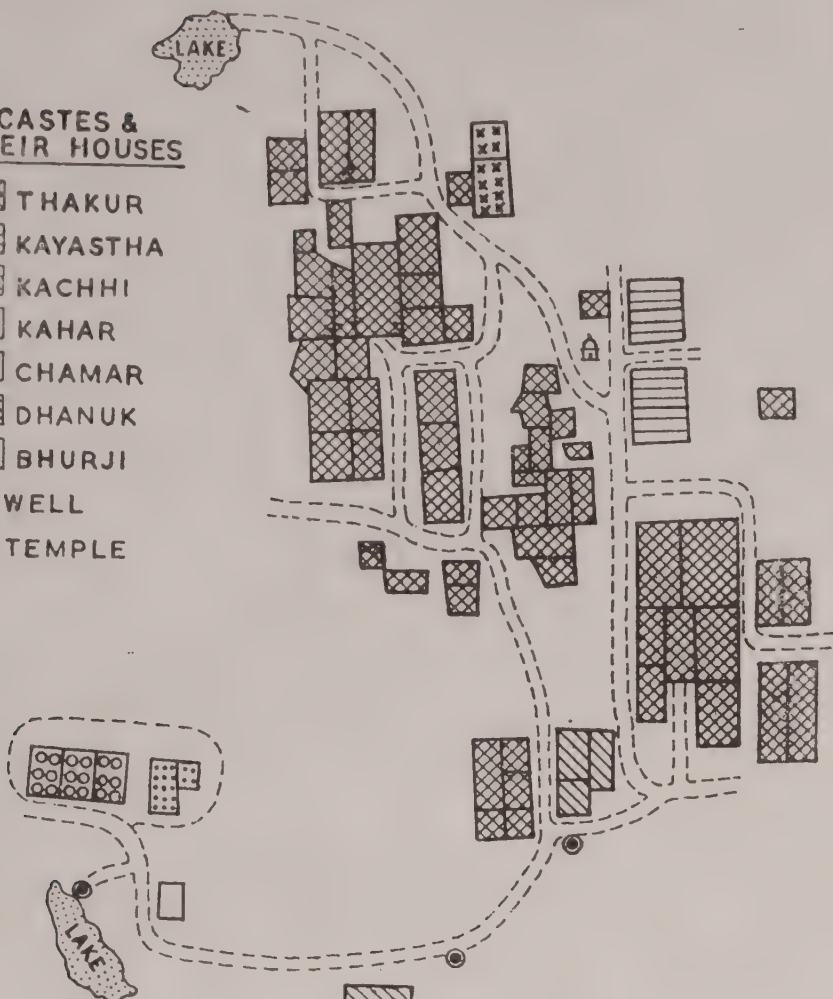
Linear Cluster
Jamnagar District, Gujarat

several kinds of boundaries. In the South, it includes the Telugu-Tamil and Kanarese-speaking States, while in the north it is present in Indo-Aryan-speaking Orissa, portions of West Bengal and Indo-Aryan-speaking Gujarat and some tribal areas like Santal Parganas in Bihar where the language belongs to a different stock altogether. The Santals are supposed to have at one time emigrated from the northern districts of Orissa and fanned out into the north and north-east. It is not unlikely that the linear village was carried by them wherever they went.

DIST. FARRUKHABAD VILLAGE — ARSANI

CASTES & THEIR HOUSES

- THAKUR
- KAYASTHA
- KACHHI
- KAHAR
- CHAMAR
- DHANUK
- BHURJI
- WELL
- TEMPLE



Shapeless Cluster
Uttar Pradesh

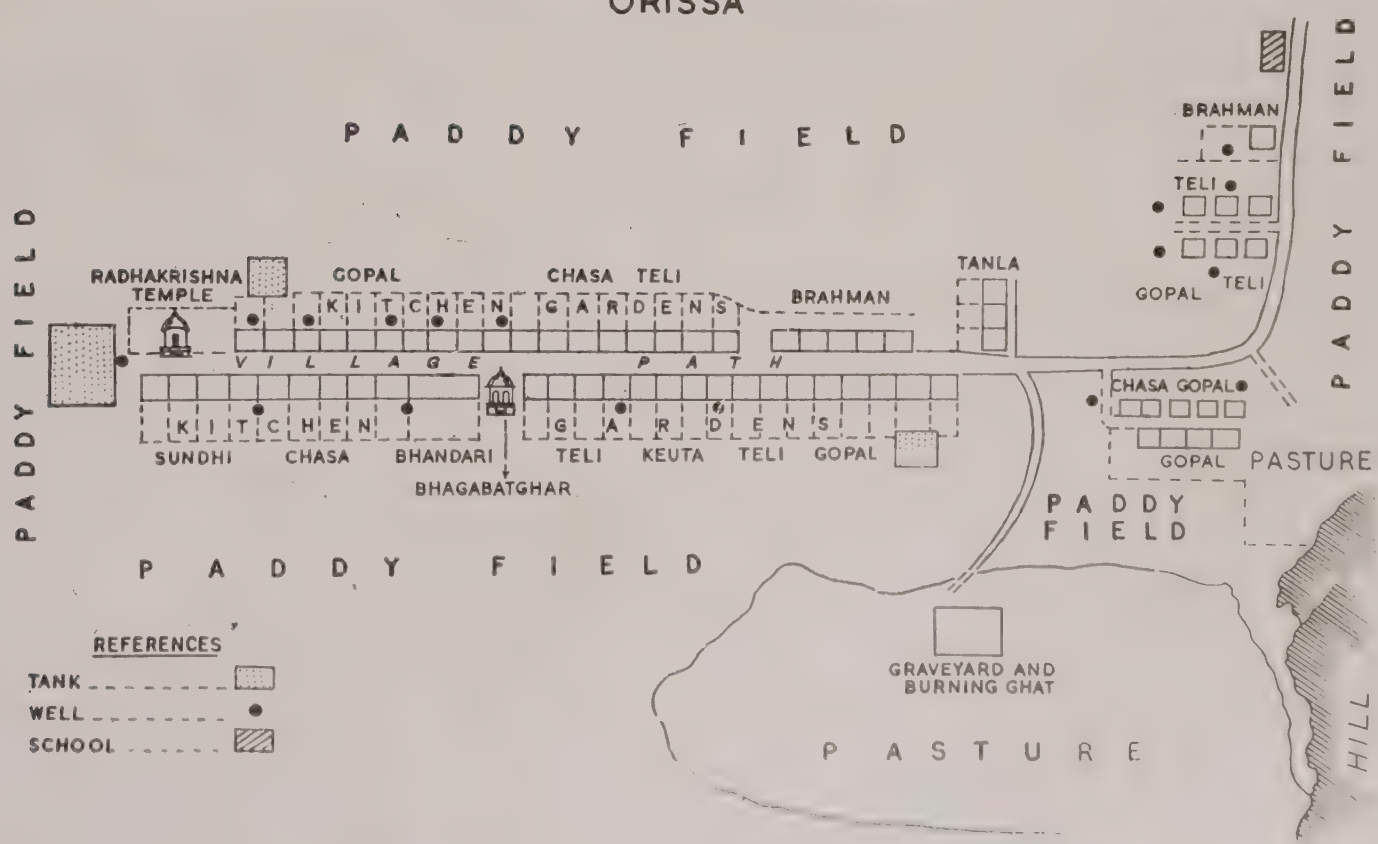
VILLAGE - KATHOTIA DISTRICT-SURGUJA(M.P.) (NOT TO SCALE)

- REFERENCES
- VILLAGE DEITY
 - INDICATES MORE THAN ONE FAMILY IN ONE DOMICILE
 - GROUP LINKED SEGMENTS
 - HOUSES
 - WELL
 - TANK



Isolated homestead
Madhya Pradesh

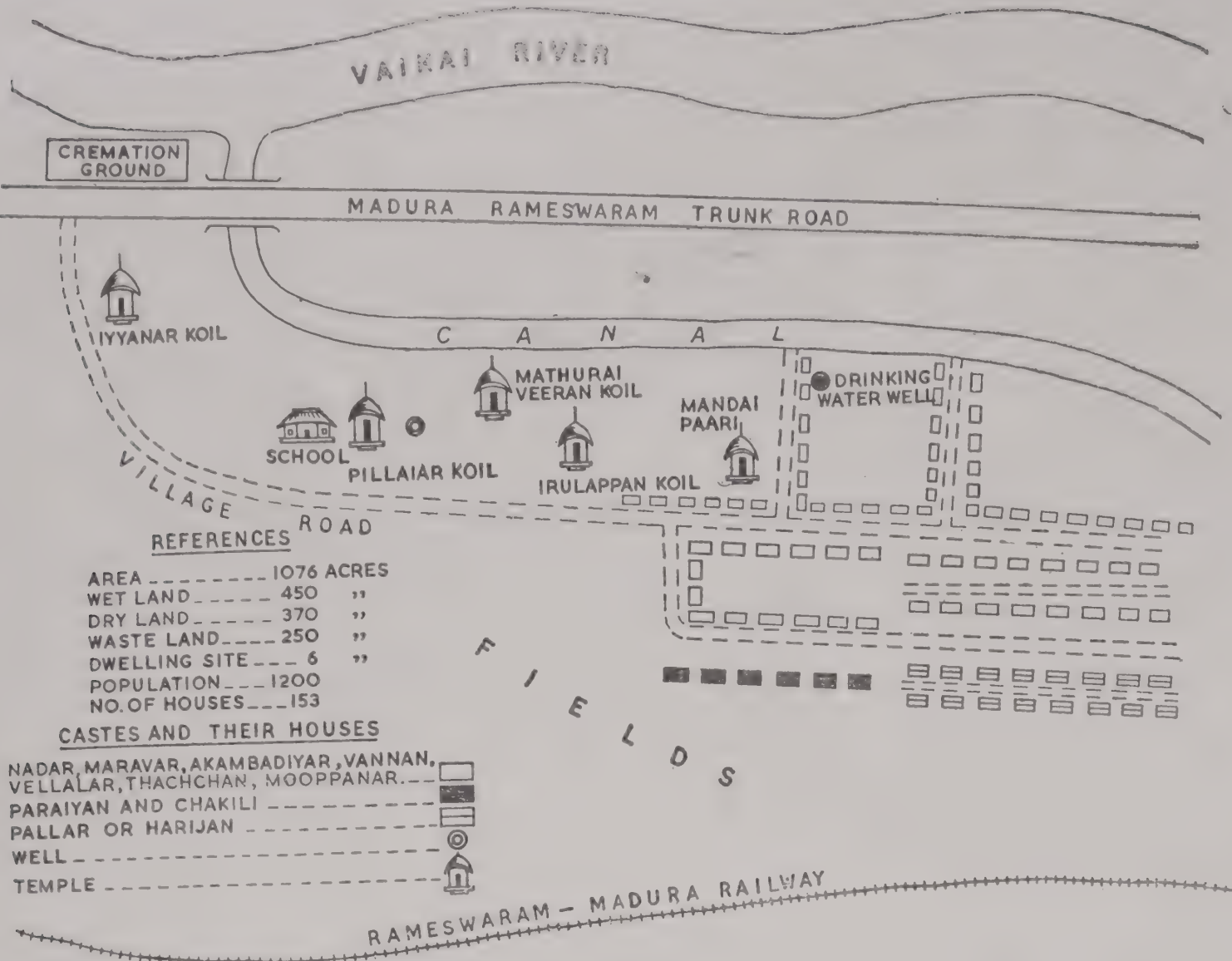
VILLAGE- SARDEIPUR POLICE STATION & DIST.-DHENKANAL ORISSA



REFERENCES

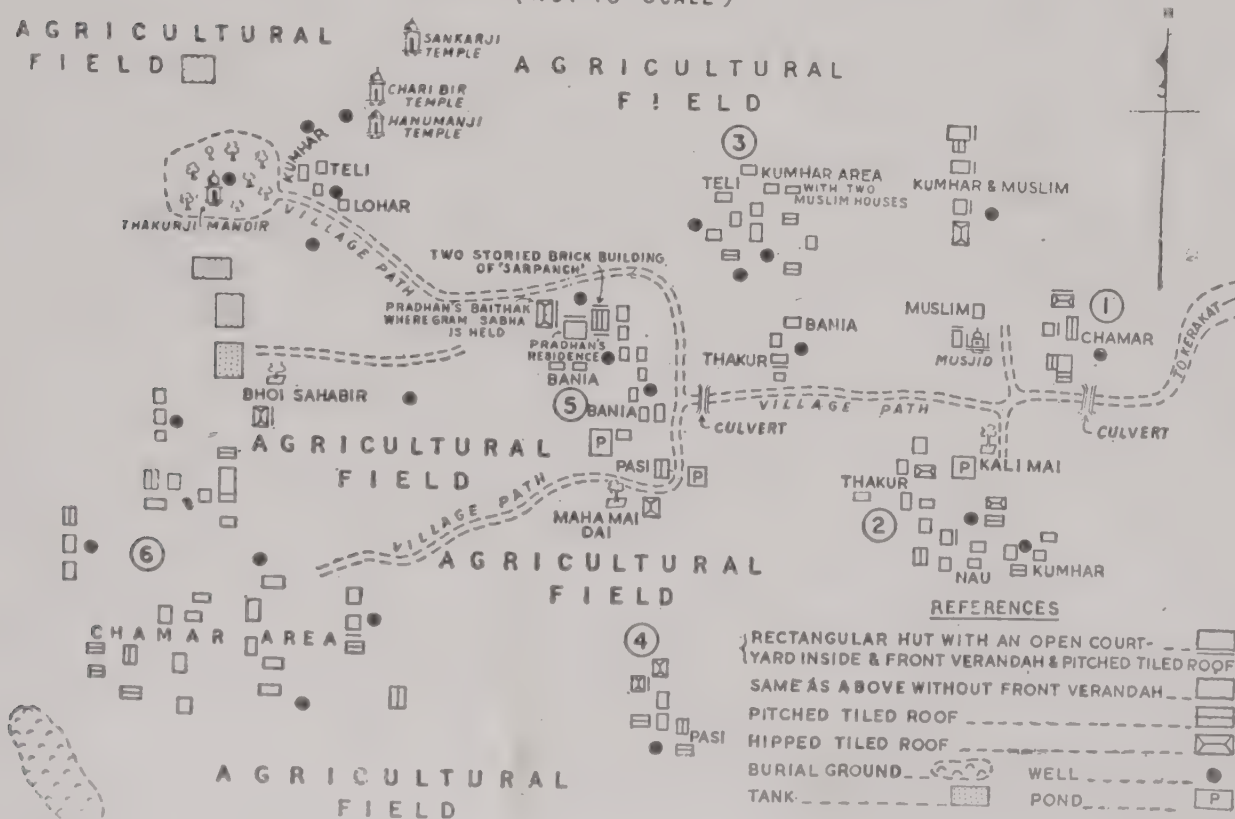
- TANK
- WELL
- SCHOOL

Linear cluster
Orissa



Linear arrangement of houses in a square rectangularly shaped village
Thelichathanallore : Village ; Ramnad District ; Madras State

PLAN OF THE VILLAGE PARMANANDPUR
DISTRICT JAUNPUR, U. P.
(NOT TO SCALE)



Dispersed clusters Uttar Pradesh



ES

Dispersed Clusters,
Sabarkantha District, Gujarat

The tradition of laying out villages with an open street or several such streets thus giving rise to two of the orders described above seems to have little relation to the present

distribution of languages in the relevant parts of the country or to boundaries of the States of India as they have been redrawn after Independence.



II TYPES OF COTTAGES

SUHAS K. BISWAS

N. K. BEHURA

Buildings used for habitation or associated purposes in rural India can be broadly classified into three kinds according to the nature of the ground plan and roof. Other divisions are also possible in accordance with the location of the courtyard, or the presence or absence and comparative height of a base or plinth. The three types are : buildings with (i) rectangular ground-plan with horizontal roof ; (ii) rectangular ground-plan with inclined roof ; (iii) circular ground-plan with conical roof.

RECTANGULAR GROUND-PLAN WITH HORIZONTAL ROOF

Cottages with horizontal roofs are limited to regions where the rainfall is of the order of 25" or thereabouts. They are fairly widespread in south-western Kashmir ; the Punjab excluding Kangra ; twenty-four districts of Uttar Pradesh where the rainfall is below 30" ; Rajasthan excluding the eastern districts ; Ratlam and Dhar in Madhya Pradesh, and the following districts of Maharashtra, namely, east and west Khandesh, Buldana, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Bhir, Nanded, Ahmednagar and Osmanabad. In the south, such cottages are limited to portions of Mysore and Andhra Pradesh only. Elsewhere, in Kerala or Madras, the rainfall is not favourable for this type. In Mysore, there are twelve districts like Dharwar, Mandya, Kolar, Raichur, Bijapur, etc., and in Andhra Pradesh there are nine districts like Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Medak, etc., where horizontal roofs are frequent in cottages.

One can broadly distinguish between the northern and southern varieties. Of course, some of the distinctions in appearance stem from the arrangement of cottages ; for in the north, villages are shapeless agglomerates, while in the south, a fairly broad street is an integral part of the lay-out. Apart from this, the southern examples do not, as a rule, have an open central courtyard. Mysore and Madras have a yard at the back while it is in front in Andhra Pradesh. The purdah system is strong in the north, and that may be one reason why the court is within, as it is the chief working place of women. The south does not observe purdah as much as in the north, and that may account for the

difference in location of the courtyard between the two regions. Maharashtra has a central courtyard, yet does not observe the purdah system. So, the custom of purdah may or may not be the cause of central location of the courtyard.

In both Maharashtra and the contiguous districts of Madhya Pradesh, the compound wall is built all round ; and rooms run round the inner wall without a break. But in all the northern districts, the cottages are discrete units built round a central courtyard. Poor people may have a single row of rooms on one side of the courtyard, to which may be attached an open verandah thatched by means of grass. Those who need more room, go on adding round the yard.

People with low income may have an insignificant base or plinth below the building, while more well-to-do people build plinths about two feet high. Mud is the usual material employed ; but in the south, as in Kurnool or Bijapur, slabs of stone are set in mud, while sun-dried bricks or bricks fired properly may also be used ; but all these depend on the economic resources of the householder.

The horizontal roof is built of wooden planks, reeds, bamboo matting or even stone slabs as in places like Rajasthan and the Punjab. This is covered by a layer of earth beaten down and then plastered, if necessary, with an emulsion of cowdung. Poor householders may have a ceiling of reeds or bamboo matting, while courses of leaves may be added in order to prevent the earth from dropping in through the interstices of the reed-mats.

Where much of the cooking is done in the open, either in verandahs or in the court under the sky, the problem of smoke is never very serious. But in south-western Mysore, the oven is set within the house, and chimneys of one kind or another are provided for the smoke to escape. In the village of Lakkundi, for instance, three pottery chimneys are set side by side in a line, and it is believed that this provides better escape for the smoke than if a single narrow

chimney was used. In the Nagpur division, as well as in the Punjab and Kashmir, a simple hole is often provided

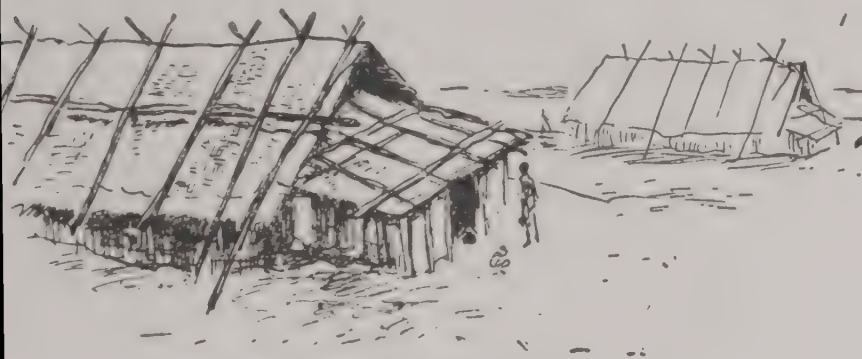


Pottery chimneys in flat roofs
Dharwar District, Mysore

the roof, and this is covered over with a broken earthen vessel to prevent rain from pouring in.

RECTANGULAR GROUND-PLAN WITH INCLINED ROOF

This seems to be the most common type all over India. There is, however, one important point to which attention should be drawn in the very beginning. Most rectangular houses in India have doors set in the long wall which may



Long hut with doors in the broad end,
Darjeeling District, West Bengal

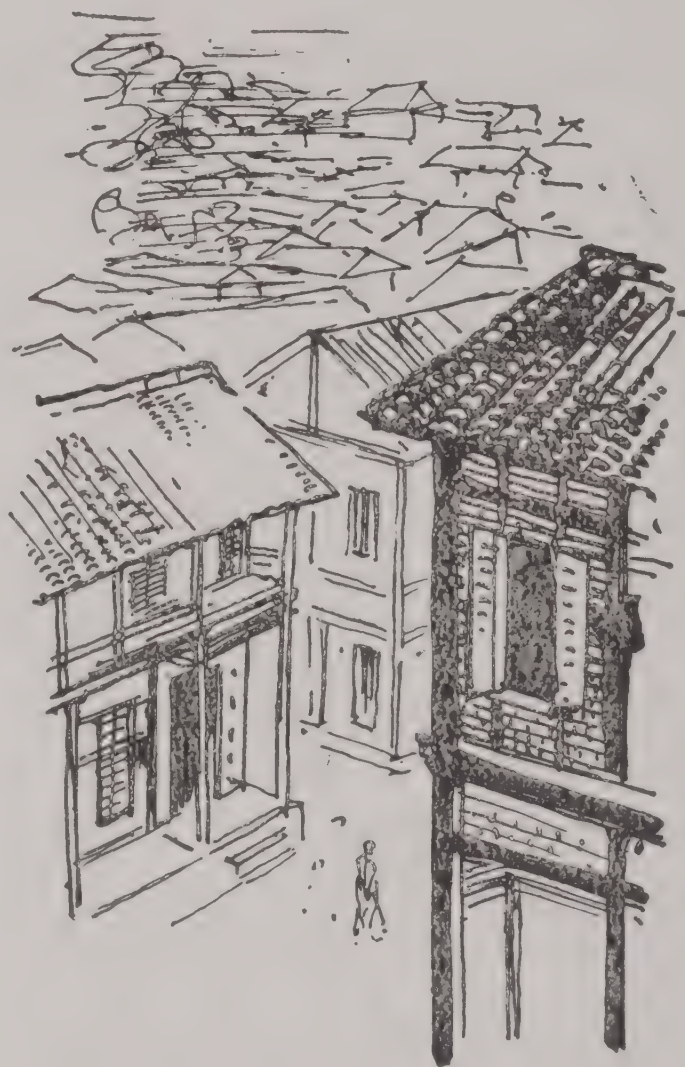
be entered into a common big hall or into separate compartments. In the eastern Himalayan region, the principal entrance is at the broad end. There may or may not be additional openings in the long wall.

Functionally, there is a distinction between a rectangular house in which compartments have privacy and are entered by separate entrances as in Orissa, and a long house in which one enters by one door and walks through to the other end, and in which there is less of privacy than that found in the other type, as for instance among the Adi in the North-East Frontier Agency.

In the north-eastern long-house, one often observes another feature, namely, that the house itself may be built on a horizontal platform set upon piles driven into the ground. Such a structure is useful if the ground is uneven, or if there is likelihood of flooding. But pile dwellings do not occur in India wherever there is danger of floods. They are limited to north-eastern India, and more so among the tribal population; and what is of importance is that the fashion of building on a platform resting on piles is widespread in Burma, Siam and many other parts of South-east Asia. We can, therefore, look upon rectangular houses set on piles with an entrance at the broad end as something which is not quite the same as rectangular houses in other parts of India where piles are not used.

With regard to the arrangement of cottages in a dwelling-place, what was said in the case of houses with horizontal roofs also holds true here. The present type of cottages may stand alone or be clustered into bunches; they may be built round a central courtyard or have a fenced yard in front or behind.

We shall now proceed to describe the different elements of the house one by one.



Two-storied houses with wooden framework,
Kaira District, Gujarat

The walls are of mud, stone, bamboo, matting wooden poles, wattle and daub, etc. There is hardly any regional variation in this respect; whatever is available and suitable is used. If a man is rich, he may employ burnt brick or stone; but if he is poor, he remains satisfied with either mud or wattle and daub or plain wicker-work walls set in wooden frames.

Different parts of India have slightly different ways of building up a mud wall. For instance, in southern West Bengal, where fine clay is available, it is kneaded by foot in the midst of the fields, cut up with a spade into chunks which are laid one on top of another. They resemble very much unfired bricks. Where the clay is coarse and gritty, it is either made into longish rolls and laid to form the wall. In Orissa or in West Bengal, large shapeless lumps of clay are laid to form the wall. After one course has been laid, it is allowed to dry to some extent, and then another layer is laid over it. The walls, consequently, give the appearance of stratification unless the whole thing is smoothened and plastered over. In the district of Dharwar (village of Lakkundi), the mud seems to be laid in triangular wedges.

In some parts of India, or perhaps among a number of communities, the custom is to smoothen the wall with plaster and decorate it with plain colours like red, black, etc., or also to ornament it with drawings of animals, birds, or the like.

The roof is also an important feature, and different regions of India are marked by differences in the way roofs are thatched, or the degree to which they are inclined. The number of oblique surfaces which make up the roof also varies from place to place, and also in the same locality according to the economic resources of the householder. Before we take up this question, it would be useful to indicate how the inclined planes which make up the roof are thatched.

The framework underlying the thatch is of wood or bamboo, sometimes with a matting made of closely packed reeds. This arrangement may and does vary from place to place in India; but there does not seem to be much regional significance in regard to this variation.

The roof is thatched with straw or special kinds of grass in eastern and north-eastern India. Thatching may also be by means of semi-cylindrical or flattish tiles of pottery. The semi-cylindrical tiles are often turned on the potter's wheel if the available clay is of good quality. But if it is not, flat thickish tiles are first made and then given a curvature by pressing them down on a cylindrical piece of wood before laying them out to dry.

Other kinds of flat tiles which interlock with one another are known as Mangalore or Ranee-gune tiles. These are coming progressively into commoner use even in villages; but they have not yet become widespread.

It is interesting that, as one travels from West Bengal towards the north-west, straw for thatching first gives place to wheel-made semi-cylindrical tiles in Bihar. Further west, in eastern Uttar Pradesh, for instance, flat hand-made tiles become increasingly frequent, until in Rajasthan the flat tile alone is employed unless the roof becomes a horizontal one of beaten earth and boards.

If one travels southwards from West Bengal along the coastal plain, one notices that Orissa roofs are thatched with straw. Ganjam follows with a sprinkling of hand-made semi-cylindrical tiles. But there is a difference from here all the way southwards to the southernmost tip of the peninsula. In the north, tiles are laid in a single course, while in the south there is a preference for three or four courses of tiles laid and packed closely together. These are often plastered over at the end with lime and sand, so that the thatch becomes a permanent fixture. In contrast, in the north, it is not unusual to find the householder busy setting his tiles in order during the rains when the roof begins to leak, particularly if crows and monkeys have taken some liberty with the tiles themselves.

We may now deal with the last feature of the roof, namely, the number of inclined planes which go into its making. Although there is no clear demarcation, yet in the west and north-west of India, two inclined planes which meet at a ridge seem to be preferred. If a line were drawn from the north of Bombay towards the north-east, the region to the right is mostly occupied by cottages in which the roof is made up of four slopes, *i.e.*; by hipped roofs, rather than the previous type. A large part of Bihar and portions of eastern Madhya Pradesh continue to have both the gabled and the hipped varieties. West Bengal and practically the whole of the Peninsula have a preference for the hipped type, with an occasional sprinkling of even two sets arranged in two storeys, about which more will be said later on. The hipped roof sometimes becomes even pyramidal when the four slopes meet at a point. This is, however, rare.

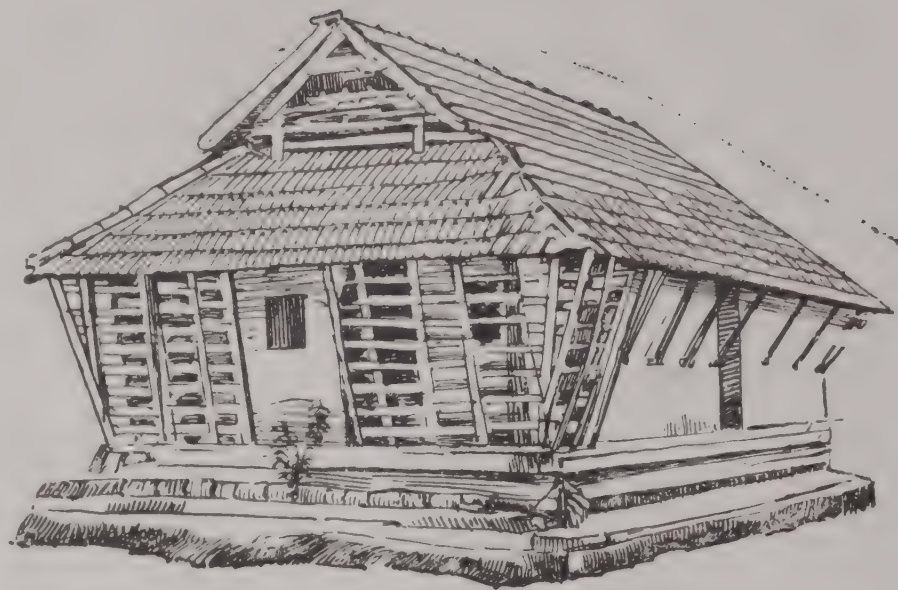
Orissa is more or less a land of gabled roofs, although, as the courtyard is frequently central, the slopes run continuously all round the yard. Assam is marked by gabled roofs both in the Brahmaputra valley as well as in the hills which were surveyed.

From the point of view of elaborateness of the roof, regional distinctions become blurred, and what replaces it is the distinction between rich and poor in cottage architecture, which does not, therefore, form a very distinctive

ent for distinguishing between one part of India and her. Yet, while we are still on the subject of roofs, may be useful to draw attention to two local styles, name-cottages of Kerala and West Bengal which seem to be of ed localized distribution.

n Kerala, the ends of the superior ridge pole are ed upwards in houses which have a hipped roof. At superior end of the smaller or transverse slope a flat, orated, triangular ventilator is set obliquely at an in- opposite to that of the underlying thatch. And, in r to accommodate it, the superior ridge line of the h takes on a saddle-like appearance.

This has been equated with Chinese or Japanese roof; here seems to be a distinction between the two which ld not be overlooked. In China or Japan, the eaves more often turned upwards at the ends rather than the . The torii or gate in a Shinto temple has the horizon-



House in Kerala with inclined wooden screen in verandah



Huts with upturned ridge pole, Kottayam District, Kerala

ments curved upwards at the end, but this is not true stages in Japan or China.

he only place which seems to bear a relationship with upturned ridges of Kerala is middle Sumatra, where, in atak style of architecture, the corner of the ridges are l acutely upwards. This is somewhat like the up- l ridge of some houses in the land of the Naga tribes

in north-eastern India. In the west coast of Sumatra again another feature in domestic architecture shows a striking similarity with houses in Kerala. The verandah is covered by an inclined wooden screen which is made up of vertical and horizontal battens of wood arranged ornamentally.

At one time Sumatra derived several elements of religion and religious architecture from India; and it is not

unlikely that a similar influence was exercised in domestic architecture as well.

brick in balconies of Mughal and Rajput buildings during the best days of their architecture. In the north-west of



Inclined screens in houses in Sumatra,
resembling some houses in Kerala



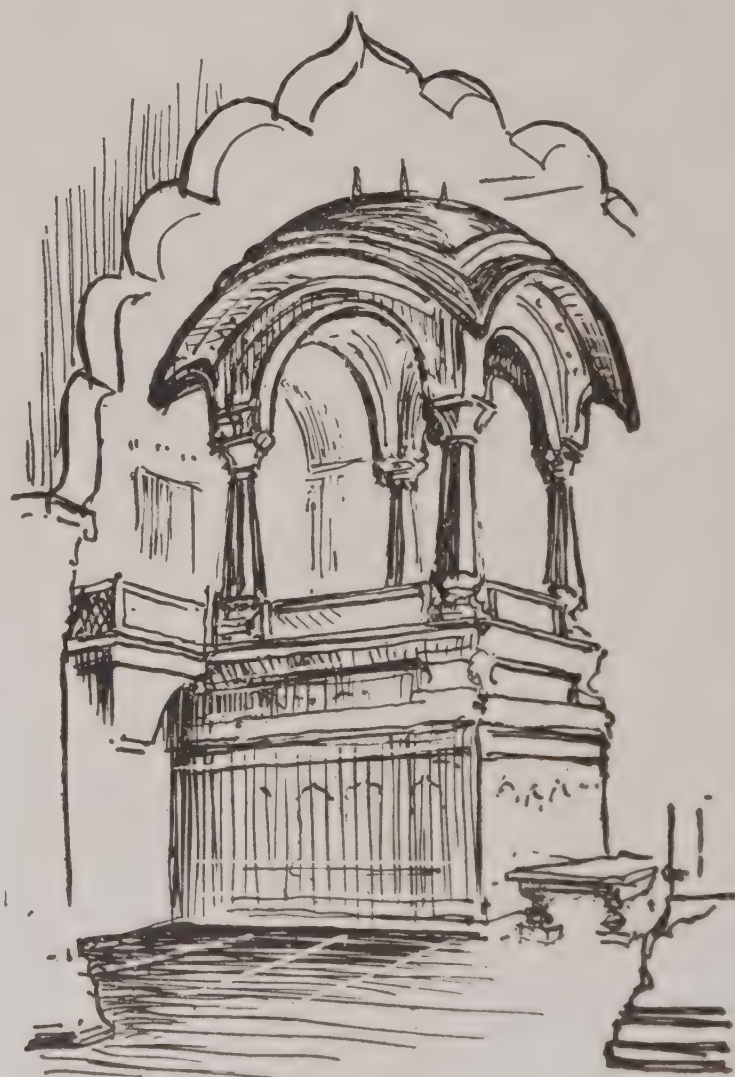
Construction of a conues roof,
Birbhum District, West Bengal

In West Bengal, the ridge pole and the whole surface of the slopes are convex, so that the ends of the caves come close to the ground and entrance can be had at the centre

India, the convex roof is known to masons as *Bangali chhatri* or the Bengali roof.



Convex roofs
Birbhum District, West Bengal



Bangali chhatri in the
Dewan-i-khas, Delhi Fort

where it is high. This particular kind of curved roof has a beauty of its own and was widely copied in stone and

There is one more element which has to be referred to while we are still on the subject of roofs.

A fairly large number of houses in Alleppey, Trivandrum in Kerala, Nagpur and Bhandara in Maharashtra Balaghat in Madhya Pradesh have many inclined planes form the roof. In comparison with the dominant type in the States, their proportion is not very high; yet they appear fairly frequently and are characteristic of the landscape of villages.

Some of these inclined tiled thatches are no more than platforms attached to the transverse walls which are without openings. Some arise when the verandah which runs round the walls of the room are themselves fenced in or



Multiple-roofed, three-storeyed house
Balaghat District, Madhya Pradesh

built up by bamboo fencing or even by brick and mortar. The house itself may be built up in two or more storeys in which the upper storeys are progressively reduced in size.

In one part of West Bengal alone, namely, portions of the hard, lateritic regions of Birbhum District, we do come across even three-storeyed mud huts (two being quite common in the Burdwan Division), in which there is no proliferation of roofs. It remains of the usual convex type as simpler and smaller cottages.

An unusual construction of gabled or hipped roofs is met with in Orissa, particularly in coastal districts like Puri where the village is a long line of adjacent houses, all thatched with straw. Accidents from fire are not unusual; and it is not unlikely that the invention presently described was prompted as a means of protection from fire.

This is the system of building a set of two roofs separately from each other by a brief air-space. The roof on the outside is thatched with straw in the usual way, while the one underneath is plastered over completely with earth inside the room and above. The two are separated

by short pillars of wood or earth. It is claimed that cottages with double roofs are cool in summer and warm in winter.



Double roof,
Puri District, Orissa

This may or may not be so; but, undoubtedly, even if one's upper thatch catches fire, protection is afforded by the lower roof, while the householder can even climb the roof, cut the strings which hold it to the superior ridge pole when it may safely be allowed to slide down to the ground.

Let us now deal briefly with the manner in which roofs are supported from within.

In rooms of small span, when the transverse length is up to about ten feet, and if timber is readily available, joists are laid across, with a king-post in the middle. This supports the ridge. Struts are occasionally added, and they reach from the base of the king-post to the purlins which lie longitudinally and hold up the rafters in their middle.

In many parts of the country, particularly in Orissa, the construction of the roof-truss is more elaborate. Descending from the ridge, we find a short king-post resting on a kind of collar beam. Both of its ends rest on studs at points where purlins support the rafters. The arrangement may be repeated so that the number of purlins on both sides may be four, six, or even more.

All this is, however, not needed in hipped roofs in which the span is usually small. The only point here is that the hip rafters are thick and strong while the other rafters are thinner.

Unfortunately, the construction of houses could not be observed in adequate detail all over India; so that, even

if there is a regional distinction in methods of building, it has escaped our notice for the time being.

One thing, however, has stood out in course of our study of domestic architecture in village India, even though it has not been as thorough as one might desire. This is, firstly, that there does not seem to be as clear a differentiation of types as in the case of village plans. There is more variation in a single State, as for instance, in Orissa or Madhya Pradesh, than between one State and another. The way houses are built depends very much upon the economic class to which a man belongs, as well as upon the materials which are locally available, and the nature of the climate from which a person seeks protection. Otherwise, similar types are shared over wide extents of the country.

Yet when certain elements of decoration or arrangement of cottages, etc., are taken into account, local styles are discernible. But this does not penetrate to great depths or does not become meaningful, as is true of some other cultural items which are subject more to tradition than immediate physical necessity.

CIRCULAR GROUND-PLAN WITH CONICAL ROOF

Cottages of this type are firstly rare, and are limited to a few castes or tribes and a few regions in India. The four types of variants are shown in the accompanying drawings. The Birhor of Chotanagpur and Orissa build huts wherever they encamp for a few months. Boughs and twigs of trees are used ; there is no wall, and a shallow gutter surrounds the hut to carry off rain water.



Birhor encampment,
Hazaribagh District, Bihar

In Andhra Pradesh, circular or even squarish cottages with a pointed and conical roof are common in the neighbourhood of Waltair, particularly among some of the so-called 'low' castes. The Chenchu in the western hills of the same State also build their houses in nearly the same manner.

There is a wall of earth, while the thatching is usually with palm leaves ; the eaves reach to very near the ground.

Some of the inhabitants of Andhra Pradesh who have migrated to Orissa build huts resembling a hemisphere or bee-hive.



Conical huts near Waltair,
Andhra Pradesh



Hemispherical huts
of Telugu-speaking
rears of pigs,
Puri District, Orissa

se are again without walls. Bamboo twigs are bent
arches, and the thatches are of palmyra palm.

counterparts, while the roof is stunted, though it is pointed
as well as circular.



Construction of hemispherical cottage of pig-rears
from Andhra Pradesh,
Puri District, Orissa



Huts belonging to the Mer,
Junagadh District, Gujarat

Away in the west, round houses once more appear
ng the Mer, Waghri, Rabbari, etc., of Gujarat, parti-
rly in Saurashtra and Kutch. These people are not
ed agriculturists, but keep cattle or have taken to other
essions. In the case of these western people, the walls
of considerable height when compared to the eastern

An interesting variant of the circular plan is afforded
by some castes in Andhra Pradesh who migrate with their
pigs to Orissa and even Madhya Pradesh. The Kaura caste,
speaking the Telugu language, is sometimes met with in
Orissa, and they build wall-less huts with an apsidal ground-
plan. The front is wholly open, and mats of several kinds
are preferred for thatching.*

*Interestingly enough, the same type of hut was met with
in a Telugu-speaking nomad's settlement in the neighbourhood
of the temple of Halebid in Mysore.



Huts with apsidal ground-plan
Telugu-speaking nomadic caste,
Puri District, Orissa

These restricted styles are curiosities, until we succeed in discovering if they have any genetic relationship with temples having a circular or apsidal ground-plan. Perhaps not. For the circular plan was a feature of Buddhist stupas, and the apsidal form was characteristic of Buddhist *viharas* which accommodated a stupa at one end of the long hall. There are examples of the use of both circular and apsidal plans in early Hindu temples in places like Ter in Andhra Pradesh or Mahabalipuram in Madras; while both the types seem to have continued for a very long while in the western districts of Mysore or Kerala, in places like Mudabidri or Puttur in South Kanara District or in such temples as Trichur, Vaikom, etc., in Kerala.

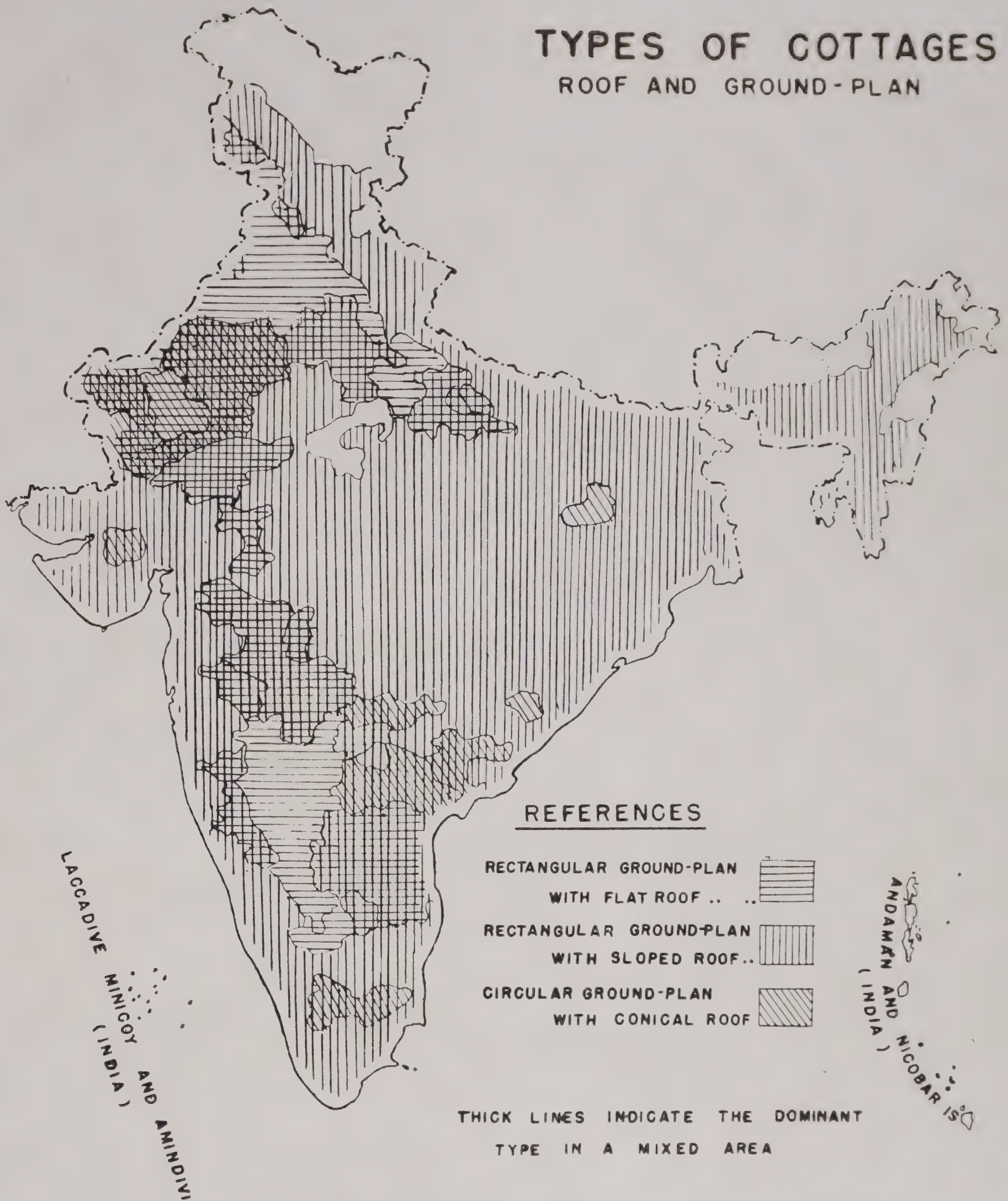
A circular arrangement of shrines is also in evidence in temples dedicated to the Shaktis in Jabalpur or in Orissa; and they have resemblances with funerary stone circles dating from prehistoric times.

Who knows if the circular ground-plan or its like preserved among primitive tribes or castes and also dignified in India's sacred architecture may not take us back to the dim prehistoric past?

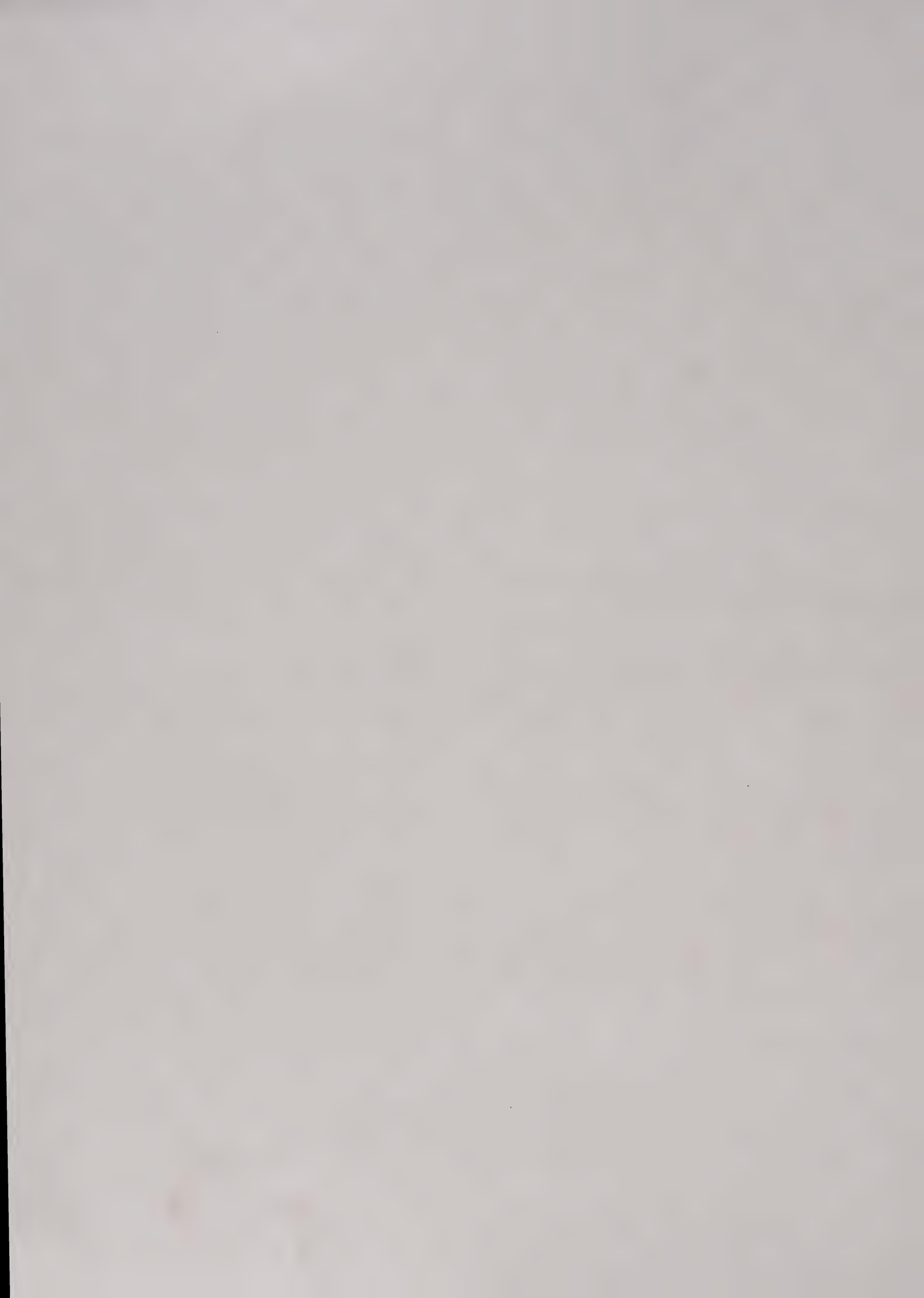


TYPES OF COTTAGES

ROOF AND GROUND-PLAN

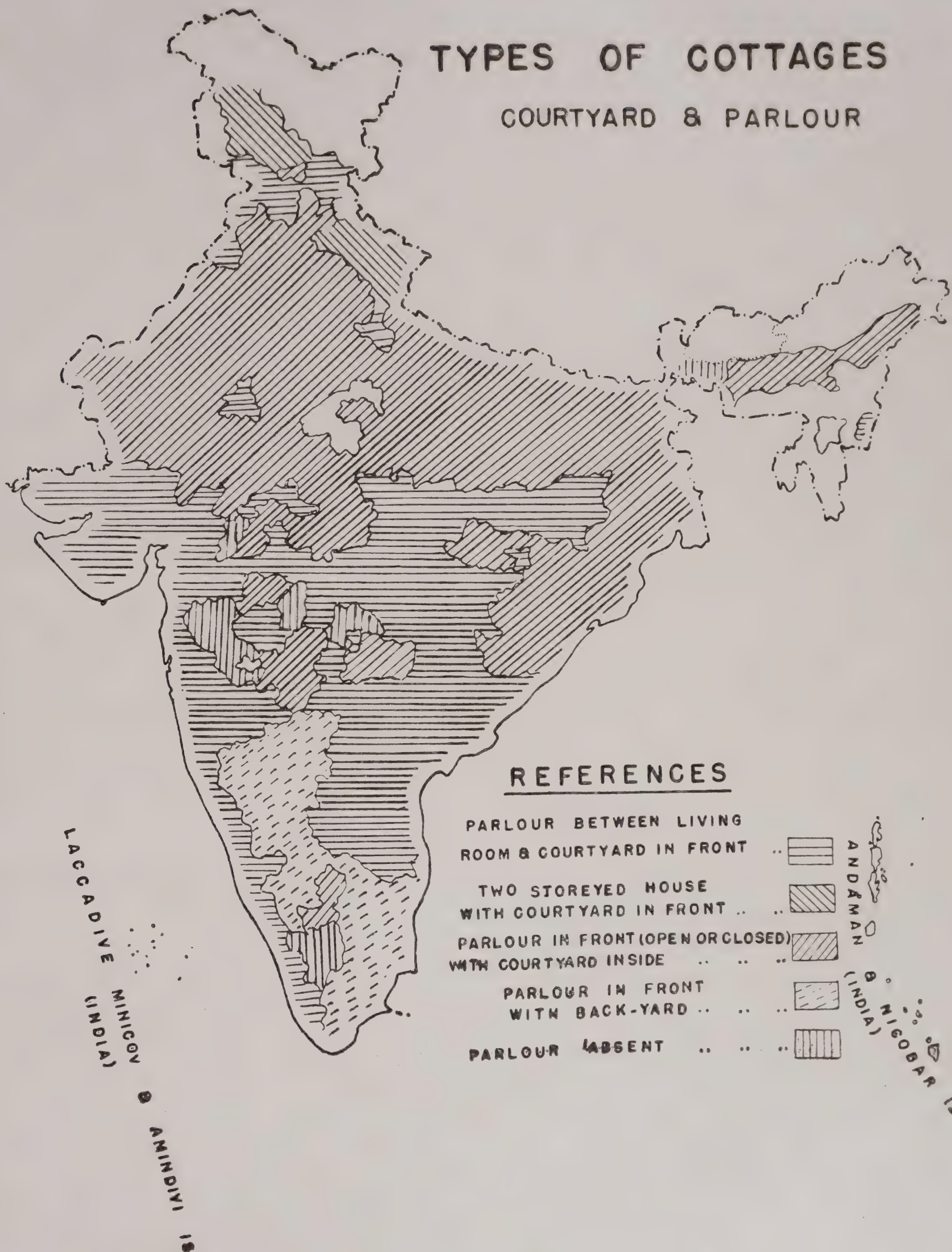


The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.



TYPES OF COTTAGES

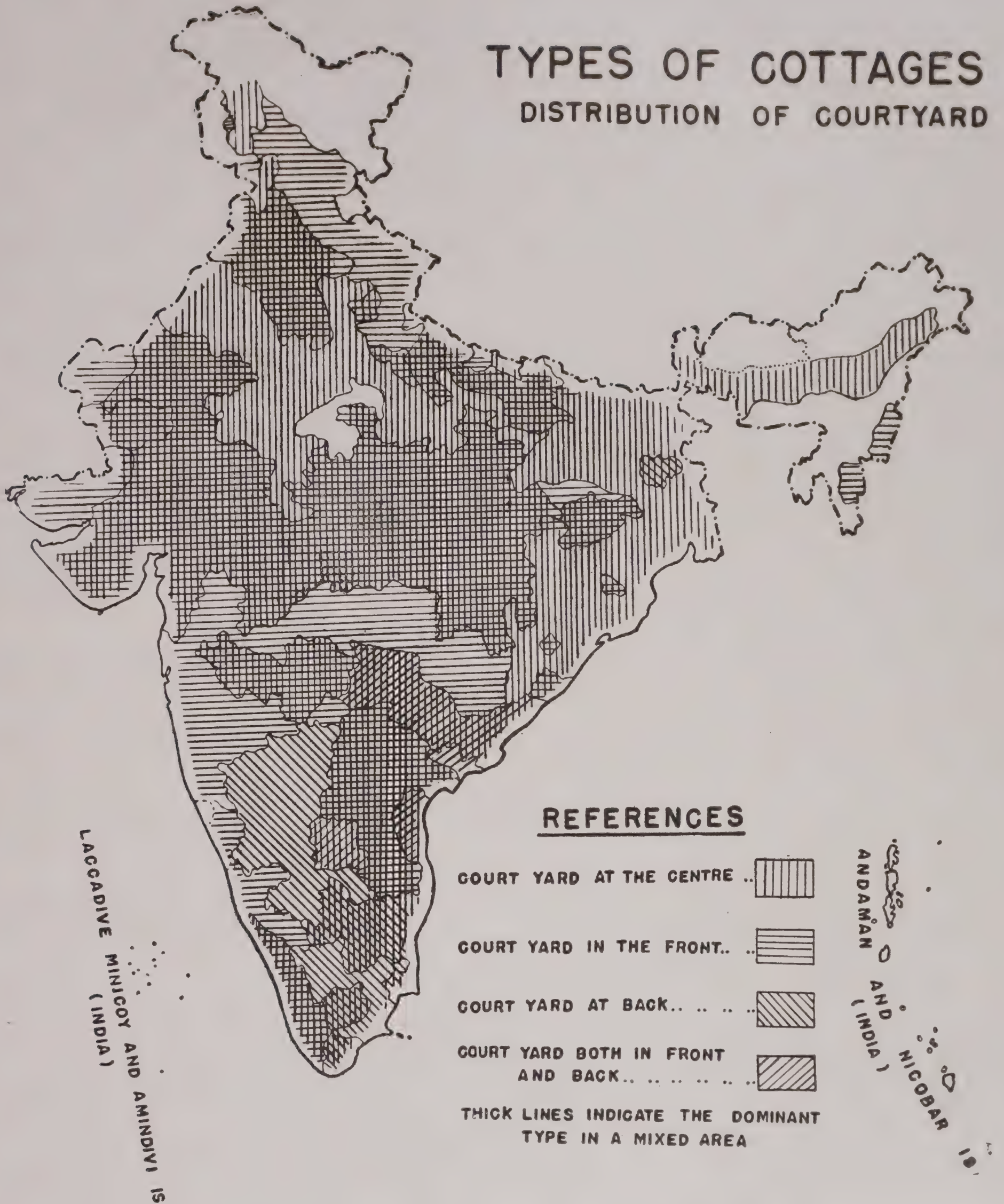
COURTYARD & PARLOUR



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

TYPES OF COTTAGES

DISTRIBUTION OF COURTYARD



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

III STAPLE DIET

E. RAMASWAMY

It is not our purpose to deal with all aspects of food and agriculture but remain within the limits of such items or processes which have seemed to us to have significance in respect of regional distribution and cultural history.

It is quite true that rice is eaten where natural conditions are favourable for its cultivation; the form of the plough partly depends upon the nature of the soil, or strength of the draught animals, and also whether shallow or deep ploughing is considered suitable for permanent cultivation. So that, part of the items with which the present chapter deals is determined, to a certain extent, by conditions of nature. This was also found to be equally true of Indian domestic architecture in the villages. But nature does not explain why, for instance, millets should be ground down into flour and flat unleavened bread prepared from it, while in other parts of the country the same grain may be boiled whole like rice and eaten. There is no natural reason to explain why paddy, for example, should be husked with a husking machine worked by the foot, and elsewhere by means of a mortar and pestle worked by hand.

India can be broadly divided into two areas which depend upon rice and wheat for food. Maize and millets are also extensively used except in some of the eastern States. One of the attached maps shows the distribution of cereals and of method of cooking; but this does not give us anything more than a faint idea about the food habits of the people. For that, a little more information is necessary.

METHODS OF COOKING FOOD

On the whole, three methods are in common use. In the first, the grains are just boiled in water, softened and eaten. In some parts of the country, like Orissa, a little amount of boiled rice may be left overnight steeped in an excess of water, and this is occasionally taken as breakfast.

The second method of cooking consists of grinding cereals into flour when a dough is prepared by mixing it with water to which is occasionally added a very small amount of fat. It is thoroughly kneaded and made into the form of very thin round pan-cakes. This flat bread is first quickly heated in an iron pan on both sides so that the two surfaces are dried and caked over, while the inside, though

very thin, retains a little water. In this condition the bread is immediately placed directly on the embers when the water retained within burst into steam and raises the bread. This unleavened bread is known as *chapati* or *roti*.

A third way of preparing nearly the same kind of bread consists in adding a little of yesterday's dough to the fresh lump. In this condition the dough may be left for several hours; sometimes it is even immersed for a while in hot water. After a few hours this dough is baked in a different kind of baking oven known as *tandur*. The bread rises partly on account of the steam and partly because there has been a slight amount of fermentation due to the stale dough mixed from overnight. Occasionally, bread from millet flour does not rise well and it is therefore merely baked sufficiently on flat iron pans over fire until it has been cooked well.

Besides these two major processes of preparing cereals for food, there are some supplementary ways which are also of importance. Paddy is sometimes half boiled in water and the rice is pressed completely flat by means of mortar and pestle. This flattened rice is steeped in water and becomes ready for food, or it may be fried dry in sand or in deep fat or oil. Rice is also ground down into flour; sometimes a little ferment may be added to it or rice flour may be mixed with ground pulses and the dough prepared in the form of cakes which are steamed or fried in thin form in vegetable or butter oil.

Besides this, grains in their husk, like paddy or maize or even millets of several kinds, may be steeped a little in water and fried dry in hot sand when the water inside bursts out into steam and gives the grain more or less the appearance of American pop-corn.

DISTRIBUTION

When we consider the different ways in which the main cereal is cooked in India, we come to a very interesting regional distribution. We shall describe the areas one by one and the distribution can be quite easily followed in the relevant map.

Bengal and Bihar as well as the districts of Assam use par-boiled rice and eat it whole after it has been boiled in an excess of water. Some parts of Assam favour the

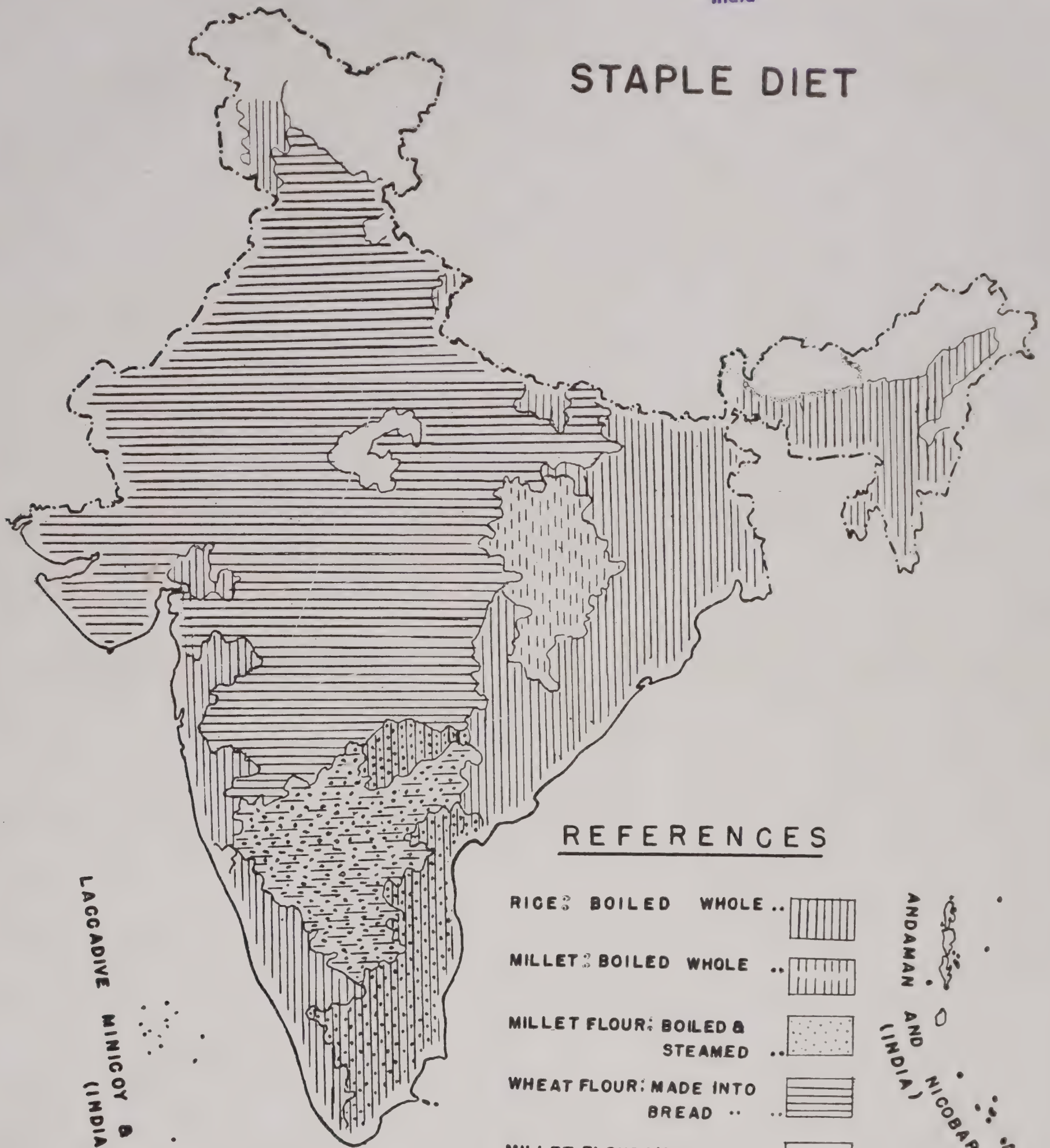
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w variety, but cook it in the same manner. Andhra Pradesh depends upon rice all along the coast up to the Godavari districts. So do districts of Madhya Pradesh like Bhopal and Durg. As we move southwards from Godavari, millets become increasingly common along with rice. In Madras State, as well as in southern Andhra Pradesh, both rice and millets are extensively in use. But here millets are ground down into flour, boiled or steamed in rather small lumps and taken as a supplementary food. In a large part of Mysore, millets are prepared in the form of chapati and some varieties are also boiled into gruel which is taken along with the bread.

Kerala uses a very large quantity of rice prepared in several ways. It is eaten whole, and its flour is also used in the preparation of cakes of many kinds, in which grated coconut, pulses in a powdered form are the other ingredients. Tapioca is also extensively used in various forms: boiled, fried, converted into cakes, etc.

Maharashtra and Gujarat depend mostly on bread, supplemented with rice in some districts or among the comparatively well-to-do classes. The coastal districts of Maharashtra grow rice where it almost becomes the principal food. Rajasthan, the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and a large part of Madhya Pradesh, depend on wheat as their staple food. In the extreme north and west, bread of the slightly fermented variety baked in tandur ovens is popular, but chapati is taken in large quantities. Among the upper well-to-do class all over the country, rice is considered a luxury and occasionally taken either as a sweetened porridge or *pilau*.

Rice is grown in some portions of the Himalayan regions like the south-western districts of Jammu and Kashmir, as well as a few of the valleys in Uttar Pradesh. Some of it is consumed. But as this is generally of a very fine type, it is mainly exported to the richer plains in the south.

STAPLE DIET



REFERENCES

- RICE: BOILED WHOLE ..
- MILLET: BOILED WHOLE ..
- MILLET FLOUR: BOILED & STEAMED ..
- WHEAT FLOUR: MADE INTO BREAD ..
- MILLET FLOUR: MADE INTO BREAD..

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The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

IV OILS AND OIL-PRESSES

OILS

S. K. MUKHERJI

In both India as well as China and South-east Asia, the fat required in food is more often obtained from vegetable sources than from animal. In India, almost the whole country produces oil-seeds, but they tend to differ from place to place. Mustard and rape seeds are cultivated in some parts, linseed or sesamum in others, while people residing in the hills of Bihar depend more on tree crops, like mahua (*Bassia latifolia*), kusum or safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), castor (*Ricinus communis*) than on field crops for their requirements.

It is interesting that some of these oil-seeds or oils have ritual associations. For instance, in eastern India, only sesamum among oil-seeds is needed for certain Vedic offerings ghee or molten butter from which the water has been boiled off is considered essential in Brahmanical fire-sacrifices. But in some rites and ceremonies, connected with marriage in Bengal, mustard oil alone is used ; while there are several magical processes connected with the detection of crime or exorcization of evil spirits, etc., in which mustard seeds are considered indispensable.

The point which is relevant is that the use of oil-seeds in India seems to have preceded the introduction and subsequent expansion of Aryan influences in many parts of the country. Regionalism based on secular or ritual use of oil-seeds, or processes connected with the manufacture of oil may give us indications of cultural relationships which ante-date subsequent influences of Aryanization.

Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and northern Orissa use mustard oil, except among hill-tribes, who use tree seeds namely, mahua, kusum, karanj (*Pongamia indica*) and castor. Some of these oils are, however, not used for edible purposes.

The area where sesamum was used and is still favoured is comprised by Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Mysore. Since oil is now mostly expelled by power-driven machines, groundnut is being cultivated more extensively than formerly. At the same time, in its raw as well as deodorized varieties, it has replaced sesamum oil as well as ghee from large parts of the country. The indigenous

oil-press is absent in many districts of our enquiry, while preferred oils like sesamum or mustard have become so rare and costly that they are practically on the point of disappearance unless when needed for ceremonial or medicinal purposes where cost is no consideration.

In Kerala, coco-nut is very largely cultivated for copra and its fibres ; and the oil is still in extensive use as an article of food. Linseed oil is limited to a few districts or small areas in India ; but the quantity used in cooking remains small and insignificant.

GROUND-NUT OIL

Our investigation showed that its use now extends over the whole of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Maharashtra, Gujarat, parts of Madhya Pradesh with the contiguous five western districts of Orissa, and three southern districts of Rajasthan.

In some districts, sesamum oil continues to be both available as well as in use. These are Dangs in Gujarat, Nasik in Maharashtra, Karimnagar and Krishna in Andhra Pradesh, Bangalore, and Mysore in Mysore State, Thanjavur and Tirunelveli in Madras, Koraput and Sundargarh in Orissa and Raigarh and Betul in Madhya Pradesh.

In the north-west of this area are Banaskantha and Banswara districts in Gujarat and Rajasthan respectively where mustard oil is in use.

As examples of rarities, one may mention four southwestern districts of Andhra Pradesh six northern districts of Mysore and thirteen western districts of Maharashtra where safflower oil is in use along with the cheaper oil from ground-nut.

MUSTARD OIL

The area where this is prepared includes districts in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam, Cachar and Tripura, the whole of West Bengal, seven eastern districts of Orissa, Bihar,

whole of Uttar Pradesh except ten western districts and J and Surguja in Madhya Pradesh. Sporadically, it is in use in north and western Kashmir, Ferozepur in the Punjab, in Bharatpur and Banswara in Rajasthan and in Kutch in Gujarat.

In various parts of this area, tribal people, as in Bihar, prefer to use tree seeds, the oil being extracted by processes familiar to themselves. The latter will be described when dealing with methods of expelling oil.

Marginal districts naturally use more than one kind of oil. Thus in Sidhi in Madhya Pradesh, both mustard and sesamum are found in use. In Sirmur in Himachal Pradesh, ghee is used as well as mustard. In some Bihar districts again both mustard and linseed are used; while in Surguja seeds (*Guizotia abyssinica*) are freely mixed with mustard before being pressed.

SESAMUM OIL

To-day sesamum oil has become restricted in distribution. It is still common in sixteen districts of Madhya Pradesh. It was found in several dispersed areas, and a few of these districts are named below:

Ajmer, Bundi and Bharatpur in Rajasthan; Jammu and Kashmir in Kashmir; Raigarh in Madhya Pradesh; Krishna and Karimnagar in Andhra Pradesh; Thanjavur and Tirunelveli in Madras; Mysore and Bangalore in Mysore State; Akola and Amravati in Maharashtra; Dangs in Gujarat; Koraput and Sundargarh in Orissa.

In the districts of Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda and Wardha, both sesamum and linseed happen to be in use.

LINSEED OIL

This zone includes the whole of Vidarbha Division except the district of Buldana in Maharashtra and in the district of Jalgaon in Madhya Pradesh. The oil is also used in several areas as Satna, Rewa and Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh; the southern half of Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh; Sasaram in Bihar; Kota and Bundi in Rajasthan. Linseed oil is also used for cooking in the Kashmir Valley.

COCO-NUT OIL

Coco-nut oil is widely employed in Kerala and four contiguous coastal districts of Mysore. In some districts of Shimoga, lower income groups prefer coco-nut, while others favour ground-nut oil. It is exactly the reverse in Malabar and Trichur farther south.

MAHUA OIL

Mahua is extensively employed in Bastar, Shahdol and Sidhi in Madhya Pradesh; Palamau and Singhbhum in Bihar; Koraput, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Phulbani and Ganjam in Orissa, as well as in Udaipur in Rajasthan.

The oil is, however, more favoured by hill people than by those who have migrated into this area from the plains.

BUTTER OIL

Ghee or butter oil is costly in comparison with vegetable oils. It is needed for Brahmanical rituals and offerings; while as an article of food it is preferred by upper castes and upper income groups all over the country. There is also an extensive geographical area where it is, more or less, exclusively used. This is naturally the area where pasturage is more readily available, and also where special breeds of milch-cows have been reared through centuries.

This zone includes the whole of the Punjab, four districts of Himachal Pradesh, the major portion of Rajasthan minus six south-eastern districts, ten western districts of Uttar Pradesh and three adjacent districts of Madhya Pradesh, namely, Guna, Rajgarh and Bhilsa. Poonch in Kashmir and Dungarpur in Rajasthan, Gwalior, Datia and Panna in Madhya Pradesh are also similar; only they tend to be dispersed and dislocated from the large contiguous block described above.

LARD

Tribes inhabiting the mountain districts of Assam eat pig's fat along with rice on rare occasions. It is not usually employed in cooking. The fat needed comes directly from meat.

In Manipur, neither fat nor oil is used for cooking by those who dwell in the plains. Hill people are not different from the related tribes of Assam nearby.

METHODS OF EXPELLING OIL

S. K. GANGULY

P. R. G. MATHUR

Oil is pressed in India by various kinds of presses, and these have a very significant distribution over the whole country. And it will be our purpose to study the types of implements and processes involved so that any regionalism which may be present in relation to these ancient arts

and crafts may be brought out where they have not been wholly obliterated by known modern efforts at improvement.

Let us begin with the simplest methods from the point of view of classification.

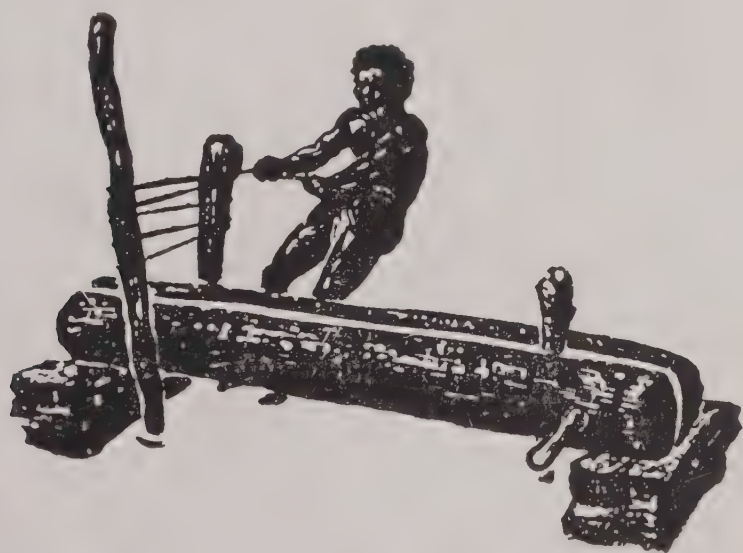
Among the Juang of Dhenkanal, seeds are crushed with a husking lever and then boiled. The oil floats on the surface and is gently wiped up with a broad bird's feather. From this it is wiped out again into a bowl.

The villagers of Mayurbhanj sometimes extract oil from the seeds of the marking-nut (*Semecarpus anacardium*) by a process of dry distillation. The seeds are placed in an earthen vessel which is covered and sealed on top, but has a small hole below. This is placed over another earthen vessel inside a pit, and the requisite quantity of cowdung cake and straw are heaped upon it and set on fire. After the fire dies down, the oil is collected from the vessel below.*

These are exceptional methods and are recorded here merely for purposes of record.

FLAT OIL-PRESS

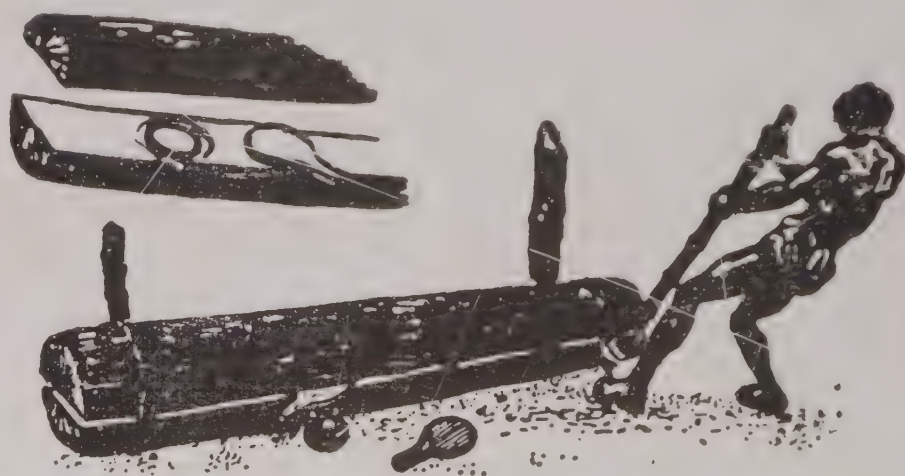
The common method which is, however, employed by many tribes in the eastern part of India is that of employing



Plank-press, vertically set,
Singhbhum District, Bihar

two heavy planks or beams of wood for the purpose. The seeds are crushed, then steamed thoroughly by being placed

in a basket set on a vessel in which water is kept boiling. When ready, the crushed seeds are packed in baskets made of pliable fibre and set between two beams of wood. A rope goes round one end of the beams, while the other ends are fixed otherwise. The rope is tightened by means of a wooden lever, on which weight may be added by some of the operators by just sitting upon it. The oil is collected below as it drips.



Plank-press, horizontal type,
Mayurbhanj District, Orissa

A slight variant of this type is the so-called tree-press. In this there is only one beam employed, while the containers are set upon a wooden block lying at the base of a tree. A hole is made in the trunk of the tree and one end of the pressing beam is set within it while the other is actually pressed.



Tree-press,
Singhbhum District, Bihar

The distribution map of plank and tree-presses shows that it has a restricted geographical distribution. It has

*Bose, Nirmal Kumar : 'Sarhaikala-rajya taila niskasan yantra' in *Sahitya Parisad Patrika*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 169-179; also 'Taila niskasaner aro kayekti upay' in *Ibid* vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 41-46. Also "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Western Orissa, in *The Modern Review* for May, 1931 for an old illustration of the plank or beam press.

already said that it is limited to certain tribal people in eastern India. The same kind of oil-press is also in use in Malaya and in some other parts of the world. A flat wooden oil-press is found in China, but the method of expelling oil is different from what has been recorded in India.*

ROTARY OIL-MILLS

Rotary oil-mills were once extensively in use all over India; but they have fast been falling into disuse since the introduction of steam when oil-pressing has been transferred largely to steam-driven machinery. It will be observed in the distribution map that there was no report from many districts, particularly from the villages or their neighbourhood where our observations were limited in course of the survey. Those



Oil-press with drip-channel, made of one piece
blindfolded ox,
Singhbhum District, Bihar



Oil-press without drip-channel
two oxen, not blindfolded,
Singhbhum District, Bihar

which still have oil-mills, can be clearly divided into two types. In one, chiefly limited to the Gangetic Plain down



Oil-press with drip-channel, made of two pieces
animal blindfolded,
Midnapore District, West Bengal

the Vindhya Range, the mill has a channel, and sometimes a spout, through which oil slowly drips out as the

seeds are pressed. In the other type, extending over peninsular India and western districts reaching almost up to the Punjab, there is no drip-channel. When one charge of seeds has been pressed, the pestle is taken down and the oil which has collected in the mill is ladled out, or later wiped up into a bowl.

There are several finer points by means of which each of the regions occupied by either type of oil-mill may be further divided into sub-regions. Thus, for example, the oil-mill may be built of one block of wood, or of two; the connecting blocks of wood between the pestle and the yoke to which oxen are harnessed may be of special design; there may be one or two oxen; the latter may or may not be blindfolded; and each item of practice or anatomy of the mill is conserved from generation to generation.

It is of further interest that in a junction area like northern Orissa, where several of these different oil mills may exist within the same district, each caste which has one type of mill or has a particular technique of pressing remains an endogamous group. In fact, a caste, under the circumstances, can be regarded as a hereditary guild which refuses to poach upon the preserve of another. Sometimes, such castes are marked off from one another by difference of custom in social matters as well.*

*Hommel, R. P. : *China At Work*, 1937, pp. 85-91.

*Bose, Nirmal Kumar : *Hindu Samajer Garan*, 1356 B.S., pp. 52-61.

Since the year 1934, when Mahatma Gandhi organized the All-India Village Industries Association, an effort has been made to revive the industry of oil-pressing by indigenous mills all over India. The improved type of oil-mill is popularly known as the *Wardha Ghani*. It has a drip channel ; and one of the results of its determined propagation has been to affect local oil-mills in some of the western and southern districts of India as well.

In many parts of Kutch and Saurashtra in Gujarat and portions of Maharashtra holes have now been drilled for the oil to escape. But it is interesting that in numerous instances, the oil-presser plugs the channel up with a piece of rag and allows the oil to be fully pressed before he removes the plug for collecting the oil at one time. The form of the mill has thus changed, but a lesser modification has taken place with regard to function.

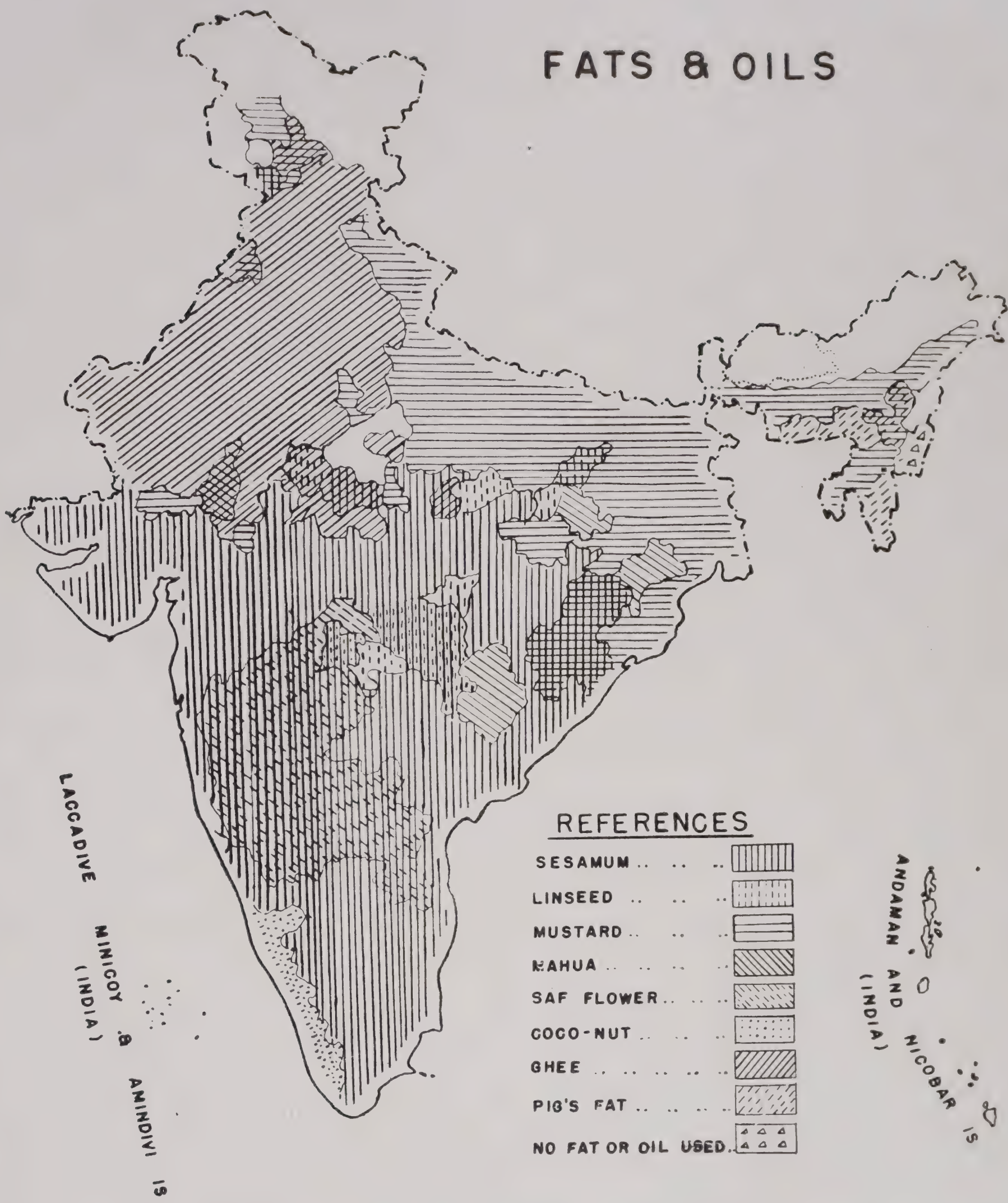
In some of the districts of Mysore as well as in Kerala, a narrow channel has been drilled from outside into the pressing chamber, and the oil drips out as in the north. But the new device is fitted with a narrow iron pipe in such a manner that, although the purpose of improvement is served, yet the device looks awkward and extraneous. It was also observed in the Kerala districts that the monopoly

of castes in regard to this profession has been indented to some extent. Ezhavas were found working the altered oil-mill with an iron drain while most of the Vanijas or hereditary oil-pressers, had given up their occupation. The traditional occupation of the Ezhavas is tapping palm-juice.



Oil-press with drip-channel. Made of one piece. Driven by men and women instead of by oxen. This is for fear of losing caste, If they harnessed oxen, they fear that they would be degraded to the 'low' status of OIL-PRESSERS. Jamar Parganas, Ranchi District, Bihar.

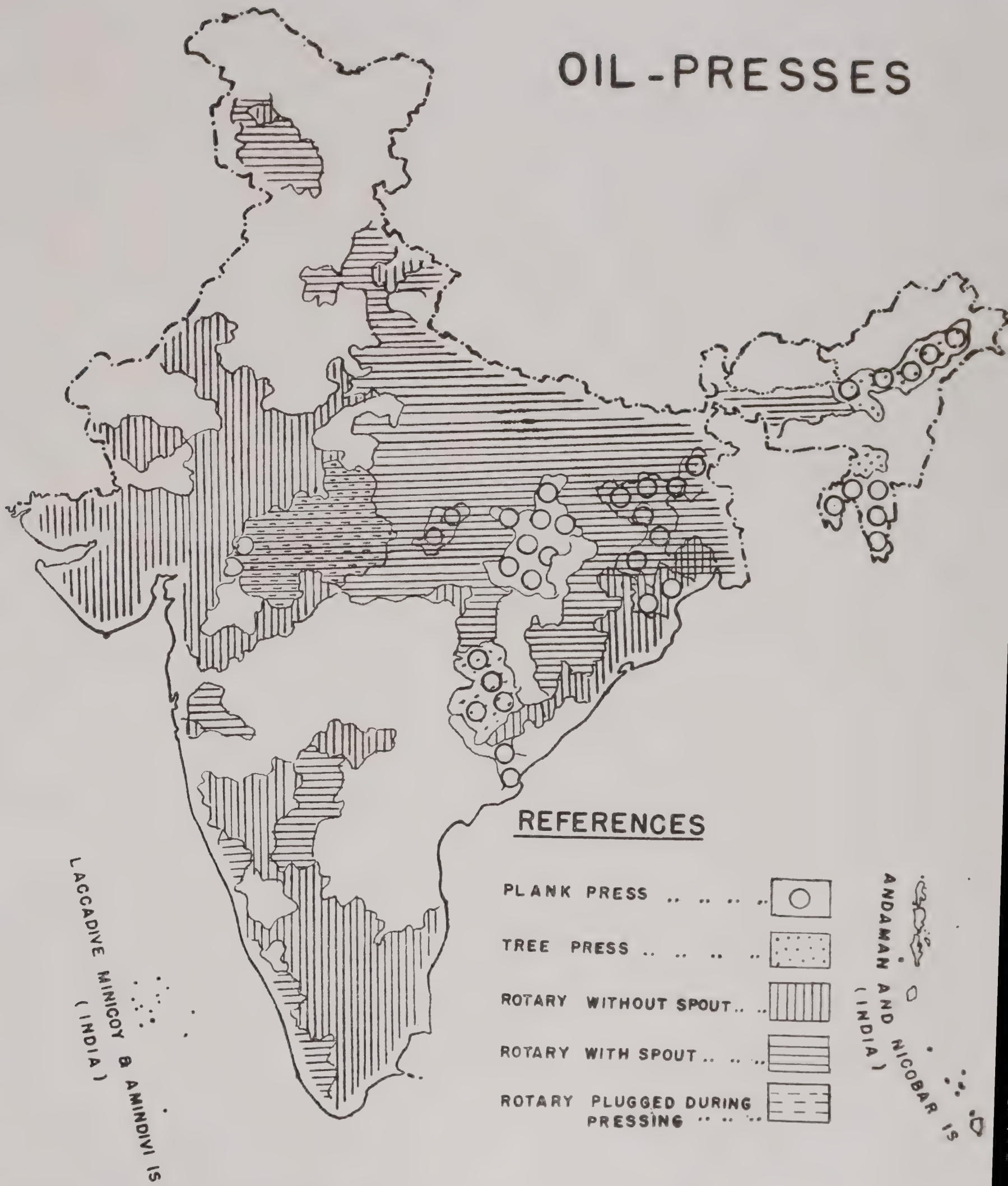
FATS & OILS



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.



OIL-PRESSES



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

V PLOUGHS AND HUSKING IMPLEMENTS

PLOUGHS

JAYA DATTA GUPTA

B. N. SARASWATI

Ploughs can be distinguished from one another by their form as well as weight. In some parts of the country, the size and weight are characteristic. Thus, for instance, the weight may range from 50 seers in Bengal to three and a half maunds in Bundelkhand*. The soil, nature and strength of the draught animals and the depth to which ploughing has to be carried out has much to do with form. Therefore, it is of great importance to remember that, even in the same State, several kinds of ploughs may be employed for varying purposes. But, by and large, there is a prevailing type in each area; and it will be our purpose in the present chapter to describe their characteristics as well as indicate their distribution on the map of India.

For purposes of classification, a plough can be divided into four parts besides the share, namely, head, body, handle and beam. Head is that portion of the body into which the share is fixed. It is naturally tapering in shape, and may or may not be marked off from the body.

TYPE A

The head and body are continuous and the two together are horizontally disposed. The beam and handle are attached independently to the body.

This form of plough or its variant is found all over Jammu and Kashmir State and the whole of Himachal Pradesh. Examples are met with in Chamoli in Uttar Pradesh and in Kangra as well as Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur in the Punjab. Variants of the same type are met with in Uttar Pradesh districts like Lucknow, Hardoi, Unnao, Farrukhabad, Sultanpur; in the Bihar districts of Palamau, and Hazaribagh. Some of the ploughs in use in Ganjam and Koraput in Orissa, and in the districts of Mysore, Coorg and Bangalore in Mysore State may also be placed in this category.



Type A. Head and body continuous and horizontally disposed,
Baramulla District, Jammu and Kashmir

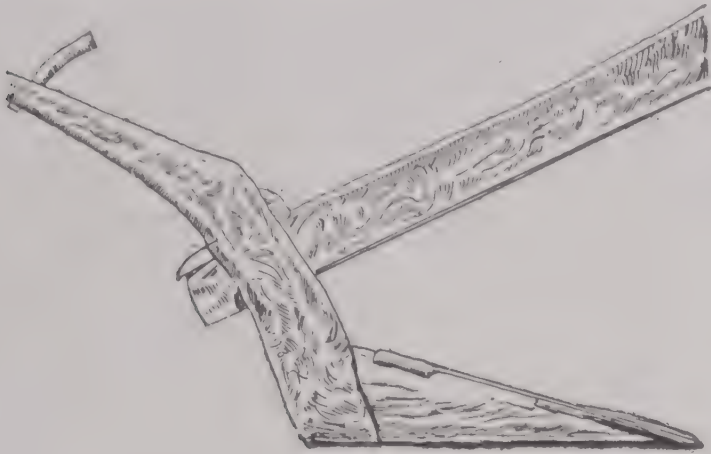


Type A
Mysore District, Mysore

*Mukherji, N. G. : *Hand-book of Indian Agriculture*, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 93 and 99.

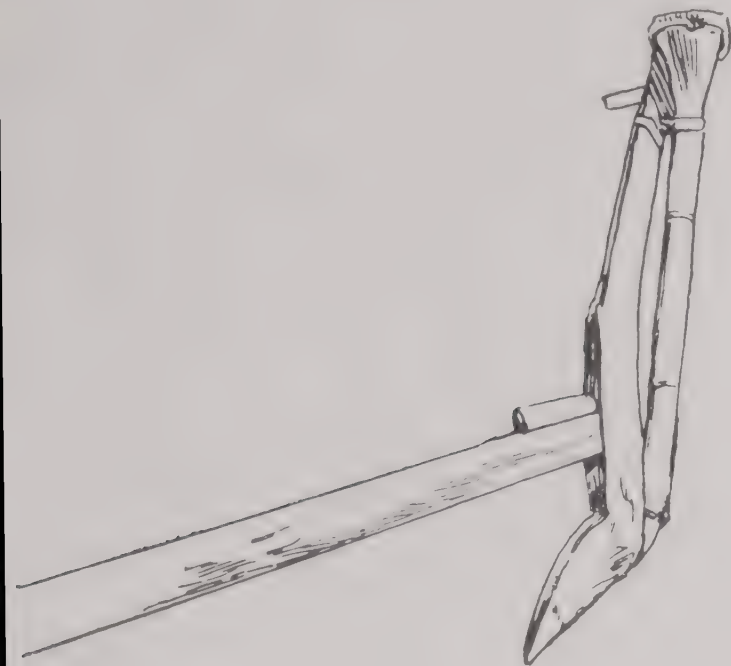
B

the body and handle are continuous, while the head, may or may not assume a comparatively large size, at an obtuse or right angle to the body.



Type B. Body and handle continuous,
Jaipur District, Rajasthan

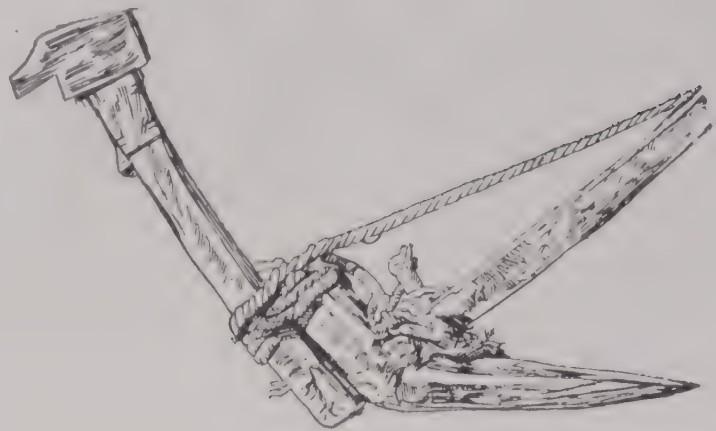
the area covered by varieties of this basic form stretches the whole of Rajasthan, the Punjab *minus* the Himachal districts, western Uttar Pradesh, large parts of central Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra and Kutch in Gujarat, districts like Buldana, Akola, Yeotmal, etc., in Maharashtra.



Type B. With a seed funnel,
Uttar Pradesh

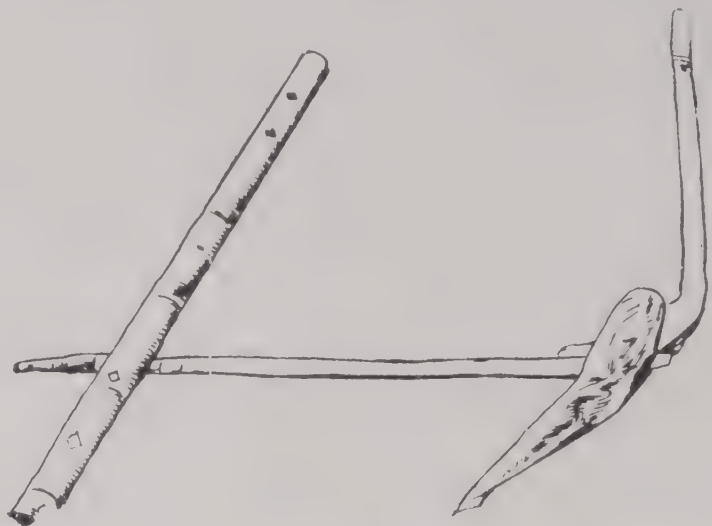
C

the head is obliquely set in the body, both being generally carved out of one piece of wood. The handle may be set before or after the body; while the beam may or may not pass through the handle while it is fixed in the



Type C. Head and body carved of a single piece,
handle fixed behind,
Andhra Pradesh

This type obviously occupies the largest area in the whole of India. It covers the whole of the Peninsula and extends into Gujarat in the north-west covering the dist-



Type C. Handle behind body, beam passes through
body below handle,
Kanyakumari District, Madras

tricts of Surat, west Khandesh and east Nimar. Through Orissa in the east, it stretches practically over the whole of Bihar up to the northern mountain border of India.*



Type C. Handle fixed on top of body and in front,
Cuttack District, Orissa

*It appears that the plough of Bali is also similar and the handle is attached at the back of the upper part of the body (Covarrubias, Miguel, *Island of Bali*, 1950, p. 74).



Type C. Head and body are of one piece
Handle attached in front of body,
Kottayam District, Kerala



Type C. Handle fixed on top of body behind,
Gaya District, Bihar

TYPE D

The head is set obliquely to the body as in type C; the distinction with the latter lying only in the fact that the handle is continuous with the body. Often the whole plough, except the beam, may be carved out of one piece of wood. Even when it is not, the different parts run in unbroken continuity.

This type is distributed all over West Bengal, Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Singhbhum in Bihar; Keonjhar, Sambalpur, Phulbani in Orissa; Raigarh, Chhatisgarh Division, Balaghat, Durg and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh,



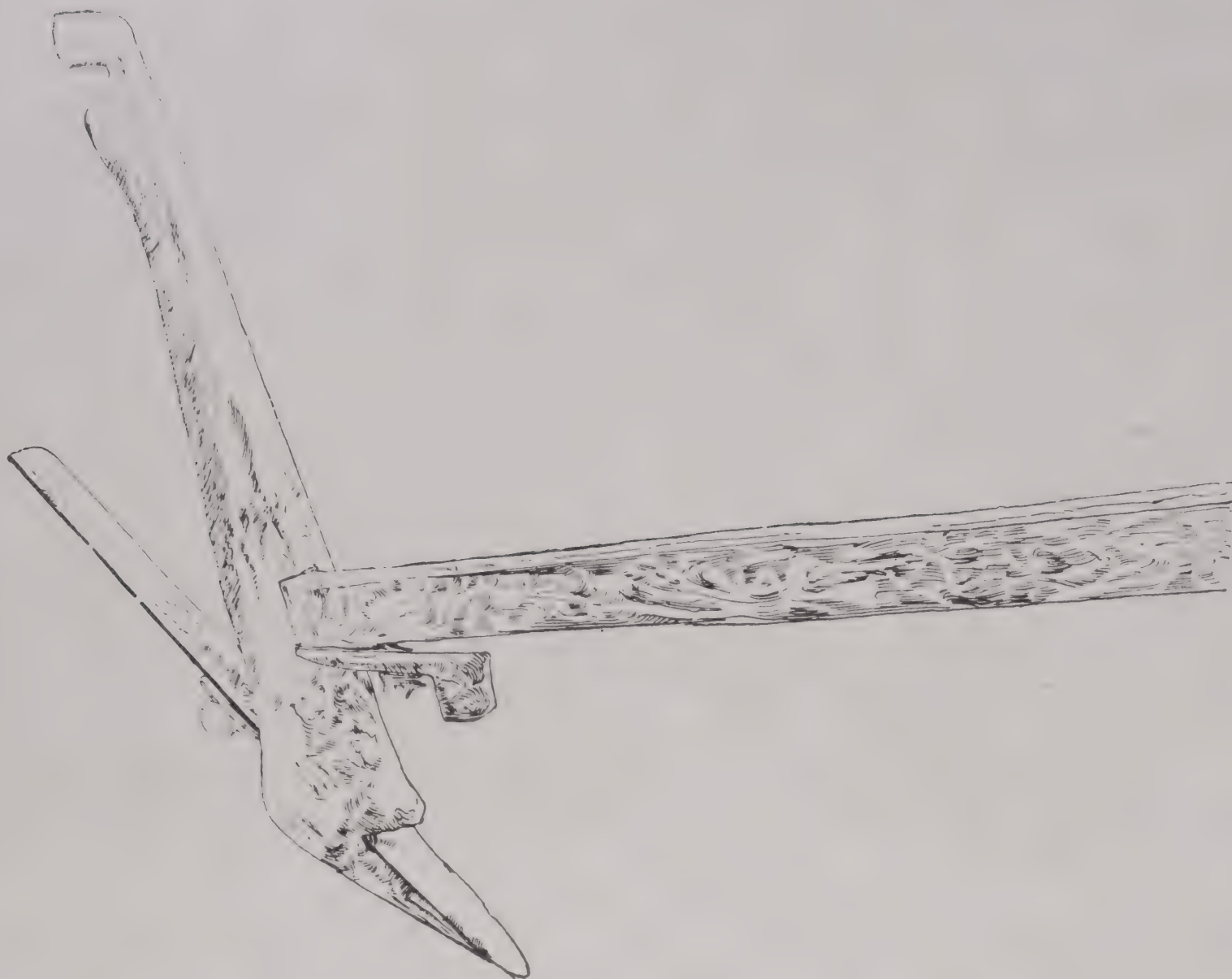
Type D. Plough form a single piece of wood
Goalpara District, Assam



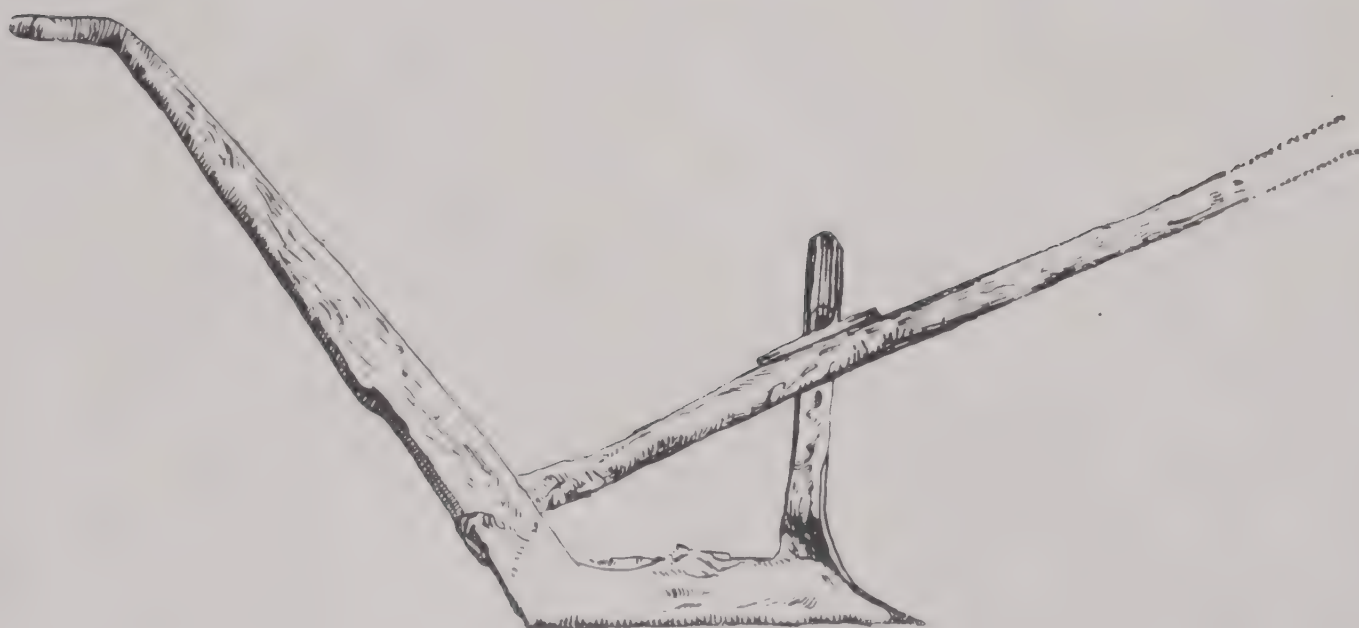
Type D. Plough carved out of a single piece of wood,
Darrang District, Assam

Rare examples are also met with in Kerala as in Kalluvathukkal in Quilon. An interesting example comes from Lakhimpur district in Assam where the plough-share is of split bamboo. It is long, and projects way back through a socket in the body. As the used part wears out, it is pushed forward and fixed again with a wedge.

It has already been stated that several types may exist in the same State, and may serve different purposes. B. H. Baden Powell made a comparison between *hal* and *munna* in the Punjab, these being Types A and B according to the present scheme of classification. He wrote, 'The *munna* is considered by far the better sort of plough. It penetrates much deeper into the ground than the *hal* and goes deeper and deeper at each successive ploughing, as the surface soil gets more pulverized, but it can only be dragged



Type D. Plough with bamboo share sticking out behind,
Lakhimpur District, Assam



Quadrilateral plough,
Lakhimpur District, Assam

by strong cattle, and is used only in the rohee. The hal is the plough of the bhet lands (low moist lands near the river). It is very inferior machine to the munna; it only scratches the surface of the ground, but a heavier plough would be of no use with the small breed of cattle that are alone found in the "bhet".*

Thus in the case of the Punjab we came across two types existing side by side. Similarly, although the prevailing type in Rajasthan is B, yet examples of type C are not lacking in Jodhpur and Nagpur. Uttar Pradesh is also an area of Type B, but scattered examples of both A, C and D are met with.

In Assam, the quadrilateral plough is met with in the districts of Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Mizo Hills. This

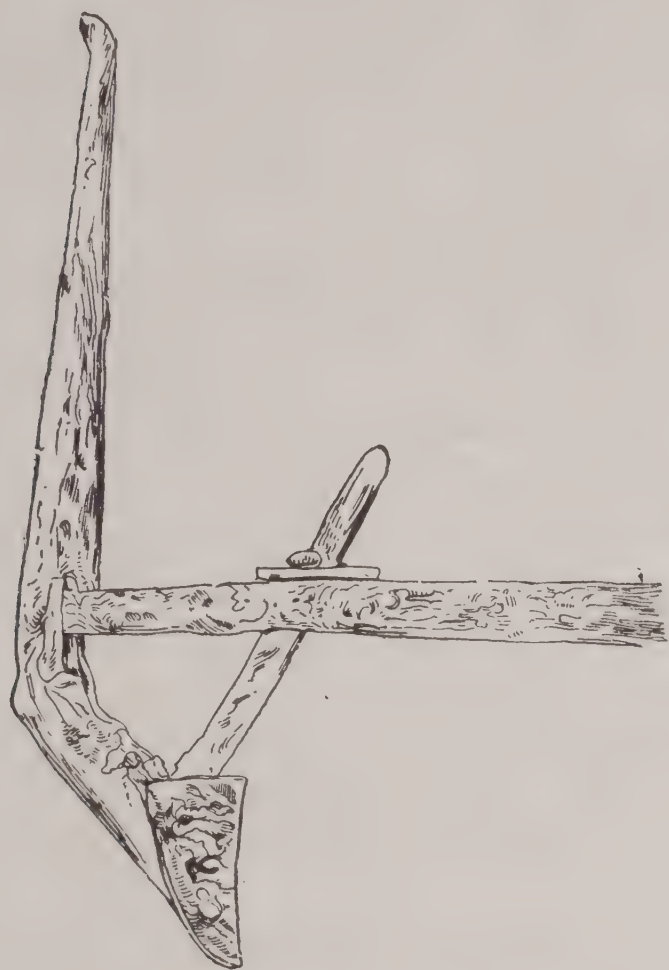
form of plough is quite common in Germany, Scandinavia, England, Belgium, North of France (Brittany, Normandy, Brie, Ardennes, Eastern France up to Jura), the Alpine countries, Bohemia, Italy, South-west Europe, Poland, South Russia, Caucasus, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Persia, in Eastern Asia up to Shanghai, Shantung, Korea, Japan, Philippines and Java** outside India, and it is interesting that examples are met with within the Indian territory.

There is one point which might be indicated there. Though the quadrilateral plough is of a very special type, yet it has a genetic similarity with the Type C of plough described above. The similarity lies in the fact that the beam passes through what can be taken as representing the body as well as the handle which lies behind.

If the two forms are genetically related, i.e., if our system of classification is based upon real affinity, then the ploughs of India are likely to line up with east and South-east Asia in historical relationship. One fruitful line of investigation may lie in the field of philology. The term *langal* or its variants are used in some parts of India and the term *hal* or its variants in others. Przyluski† tried to trace the origin of *langal* to extra-Indian sources; it might be worth while trying to trace similar connections in the form and manner of use of the implements employed. Many of the terms connected with agricultural process, as well as things, might thus open up new vistas of historical perspective.

OBSERVATIONS

Assam is on the border-line of India, and here we come across one or two features which show a relationship with countries outside India. All over eastern Asia from Japan to the Philippines, it is customary to harness one buffalo to the plough. The yoke accordingly is quite different from Indian yokes where two oxen are employed. In Tripura in the eastern frontier, the plough is as in West Bengal, but a harness for a single ox is found along with it as in the Far East. In parts of Rajasthan and the Punjab a single camel is harnessed to the plough.



Quadrilateral plough;
Lakhimpur District, Assam

*Baden Powell, B. H. : *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, forming Vol. II of the *Hand-book of the Economic Products of the Punjab*, 1872, Lahore p. 314.

**Baschmakoff, M. Alexander : *The Evolution of the Plough in the Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1934.

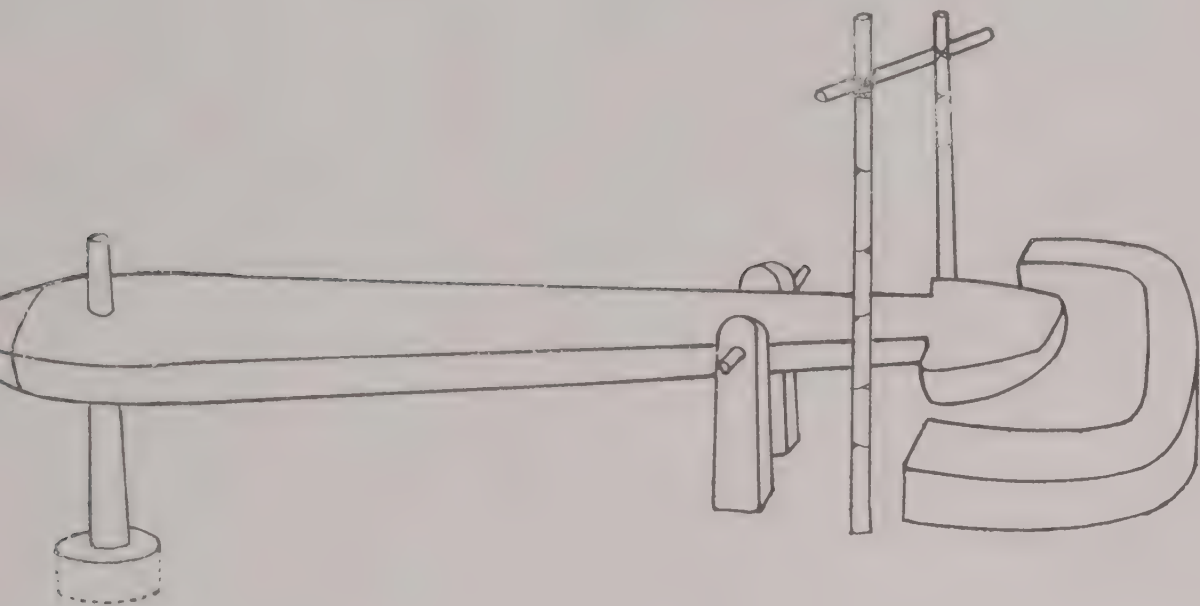
†Levi, Sylvain, Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch : *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. Translated by Probodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 8-15.

HUSKING IMPLEMENTS

BIKASH RAYCHAUDHURI

Cereals are husked in the villages of India either with a hand pestle and mortar worked by hand, or by a pestle which is attached to one end of a heavy wooden lever which is worked at the other end by one or two persons treading on and off it. The latter is of comparatively restricted distribution and the Bengali term *dhenki* will be used for it.

This type is very widely distributed in India. The area is comprised of Kerala, Mysore, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan *minus* Sikar, Jhunjhunu and Churu Districts, Madhya Pradesh, Vidarbha, Uttar Pradesh *minus* Gonda, Himachal Pradesh and three districts of Jammu and Kashmir, namely, Udhampur, Jammu and Kathua; Purulia in Bengal; Singhbhum, Ranchi and Santal Parganas in Bihar; Sundargarh, Kalahandi, Ganjam, Phulbani, Koraput, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj in Orissa. In Andhra Pradesh, it is comparatively rare, being found mainly in Guntur and Nellore.



Dhenki,
24-Parganas District, West Bengal

The hand pestle and mortar are in extensive use; and classification can be attempted on the nature of the mortar. Mortars are made either of wood or stone or rarely of thick and heavy pottery. Pestles are of many designs, and one of the ways of sub-dividing a region into sub-regions may be based upon their styles.

A map shows the distribution of the dhenki and mortar and pestle.

The distribution of mortars of various kinds is enumerated below.

MORTAR FIXED IN THE GROUND

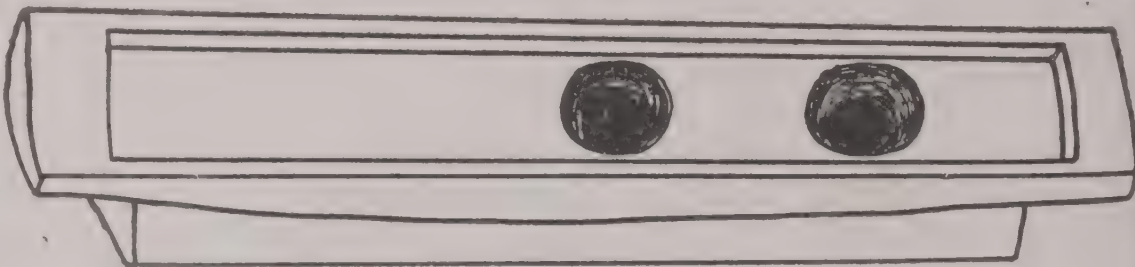
A cavity is carved in a block of wood or stone and embedded in the floor of the house. Sometimes several mortars are made side by side for more than one person to work together. In countries where women work in the fields, and suitable flat exposures of hard rock are available, cavities are made in them to serve as mortars.

B. PORTABLE MORTAR

(a) LONG MORTAR WITH MULTIPLE CAVITIES

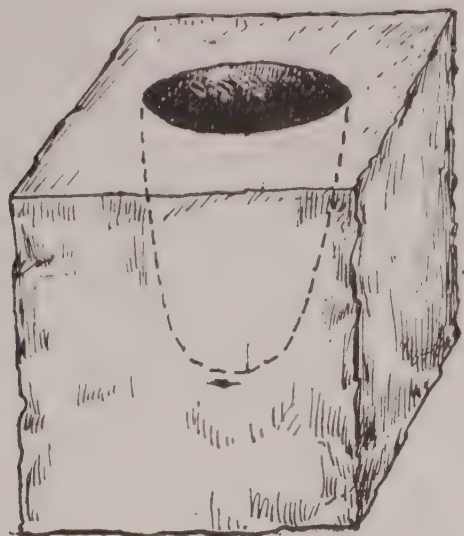
It is a heavy horizontal block of wood with one or more cavities made in the thickest portion.*

This type has been found in the Mizo Hills, United Mikir and north Kachar Hills, and Darrang districts of Assam and in Manipur. It would be interesting to find out if a similar type is also in use in the north of Burma. There is information that it is used by Batak women for pounding paddy in Sumatra.*



Long block of wood with several mortars,
Manipur State

(b) SQUARE BLOCK

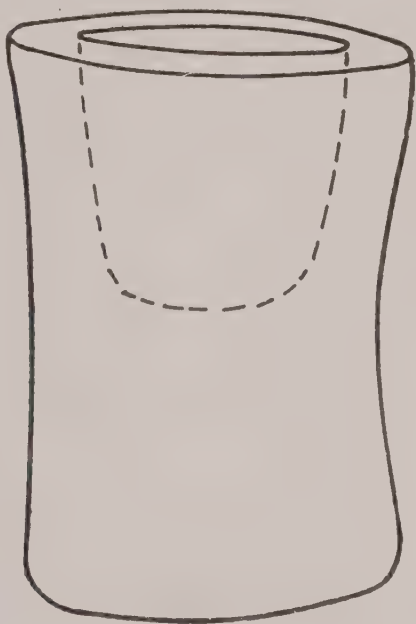


Mortar of stone in the form of a cube,
Warangal District,
Andhra Pradesh

Stone or wooden mortars of cubical form are limited to a contiguous area in the northern portion of Andhra Pradesh. The districts involved are Mahbubnagar, Warangal, Nalgonda, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad and Medak.

Examples have also been found in Sikar District in Rajasthan.

(c) CYLINDRICAL FORM



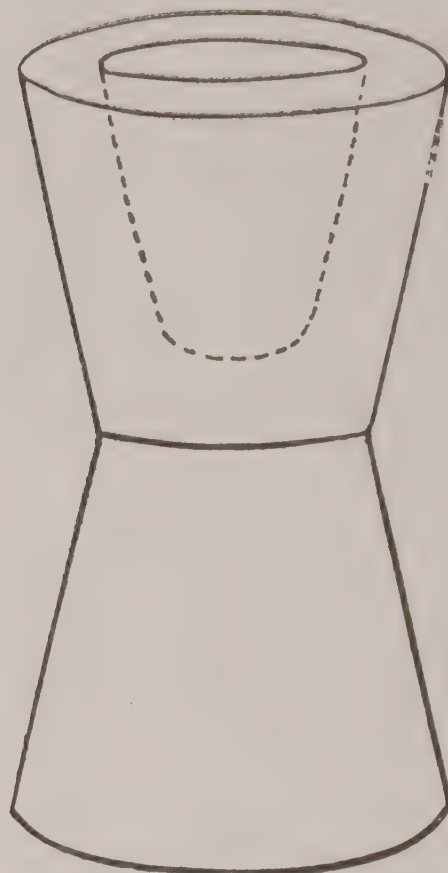
Cylindrical mortar;
Karnal District, Punjab

A simple cylindrical form has been observed in for contiguous districts of Andhra, namely, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Kurnool and Chittoor.

The same form has also been noticed in Palghat Kerala State and in several districts of the Punjab, namely, Karnal, Ambala, Patiala, Sangrur, Ludhiana; and in Bara mulla, Anantanag and Srinagar in Jammu and Kashmir.

(d) HOUR-GLASS TYPE

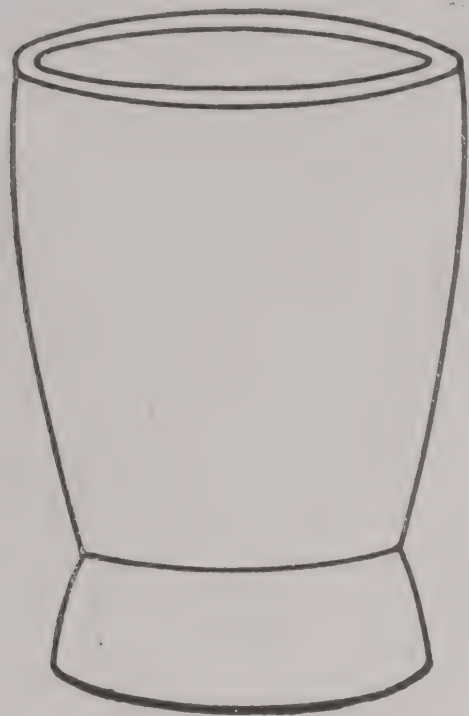
There can be a constriction in the middle or way down. From the point of view of styles, several sub-varieties can be distinguished; but for broad purposes of classification these can be treated together.



Mortar, constricted in the middle,
East Godavari District,
Andhra Pradesh

The hour-glass type is common all over eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar *minus* Singhbhum, Ranchi and Santal Parganas; in West Bengal where mortars are in use, and Koraput in Orissa. It is the principal form in Andhra Pradesh excepting in the north-western districts where square blocks are favoured. It is common in Madras and in southern districts of Kerala, like Alleppey, Ernakulam and Quilon. In Mysore, it is found in Coorg.

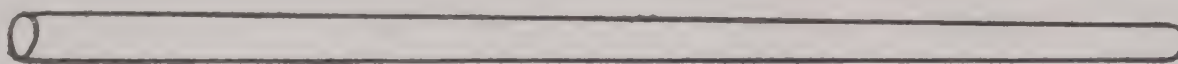
The sub-type in which the constriction is placed below centre is common in the north-east in Tripura and the following districts of Assam : United Mikir & North Kachar Hills, Garo Hills, United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Jalandhara. In Madras, it is present in Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur, south Arcot and Coimbatore. In Rajasthan, this form occurs in Sikar, Jhunjhunu and Churu. In Uttar Pradesh, it is present in Bahraich, Basti, Gorakhpur, Deoria and Ballia. In the Punjab, the form occurs in Mohinder-
nagar, Kangra and Mandi.*



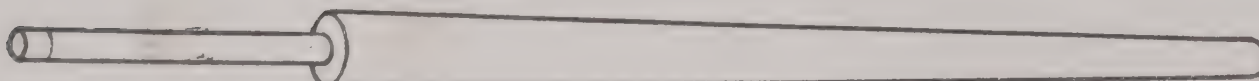
Mortar with constriction
below middle region,
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills
District, Assam

These discontinuous distributions of sub-types do not, however, signify any genetic relationship. They have been grouped together into one class from a consideration of their general form alone.

The following sketches explain the forms of pestles used for husking cereals in different parts of India.



Long, cylindrical pestle,
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills District, Assam
Distribution : Southern and Eastern India



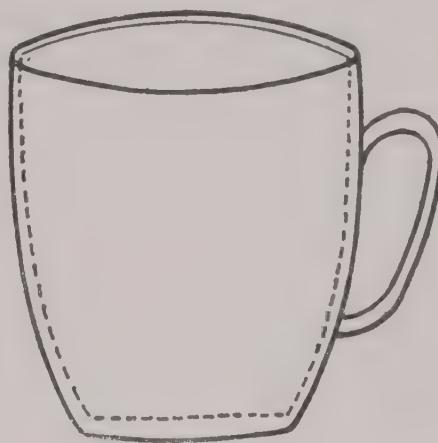
Pestle with narrow working head,
'Durg District, Madhya Pradesh
Distribution : Orissa, Bastar, Durg and Surguja Districts of Madhya Pradesh

(e) CUP-SHAPED MORTAR



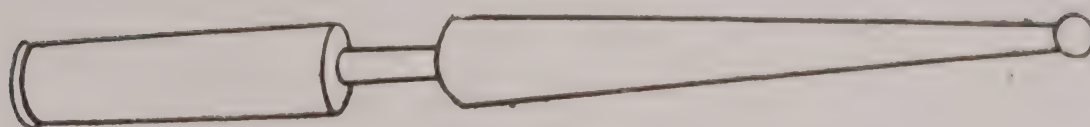
Broad open mortar of wood,
Dehra Dun District, Uttar Pradesh

The broad open cup-shaped mortar is present all over Kerala except Kozhikode. It also occurs in Dehra Dun in Uttar Pradesh and in Mandi in Himachal Pradesh. Similar forms made of heavy pottery have also been found in Delhi.

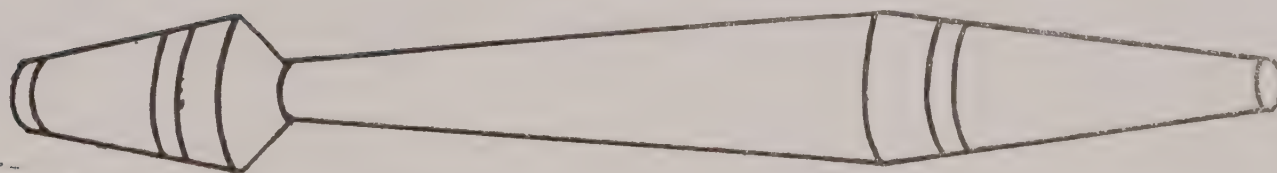


Heavy mortar of burnt earth,
Delhi

*In Bali also this type has been noted. (Covarrubias, Miguel, *Island of Bali*, 1950, Plates— Frontispiece and 'Girls of Sunur pounding rice'.



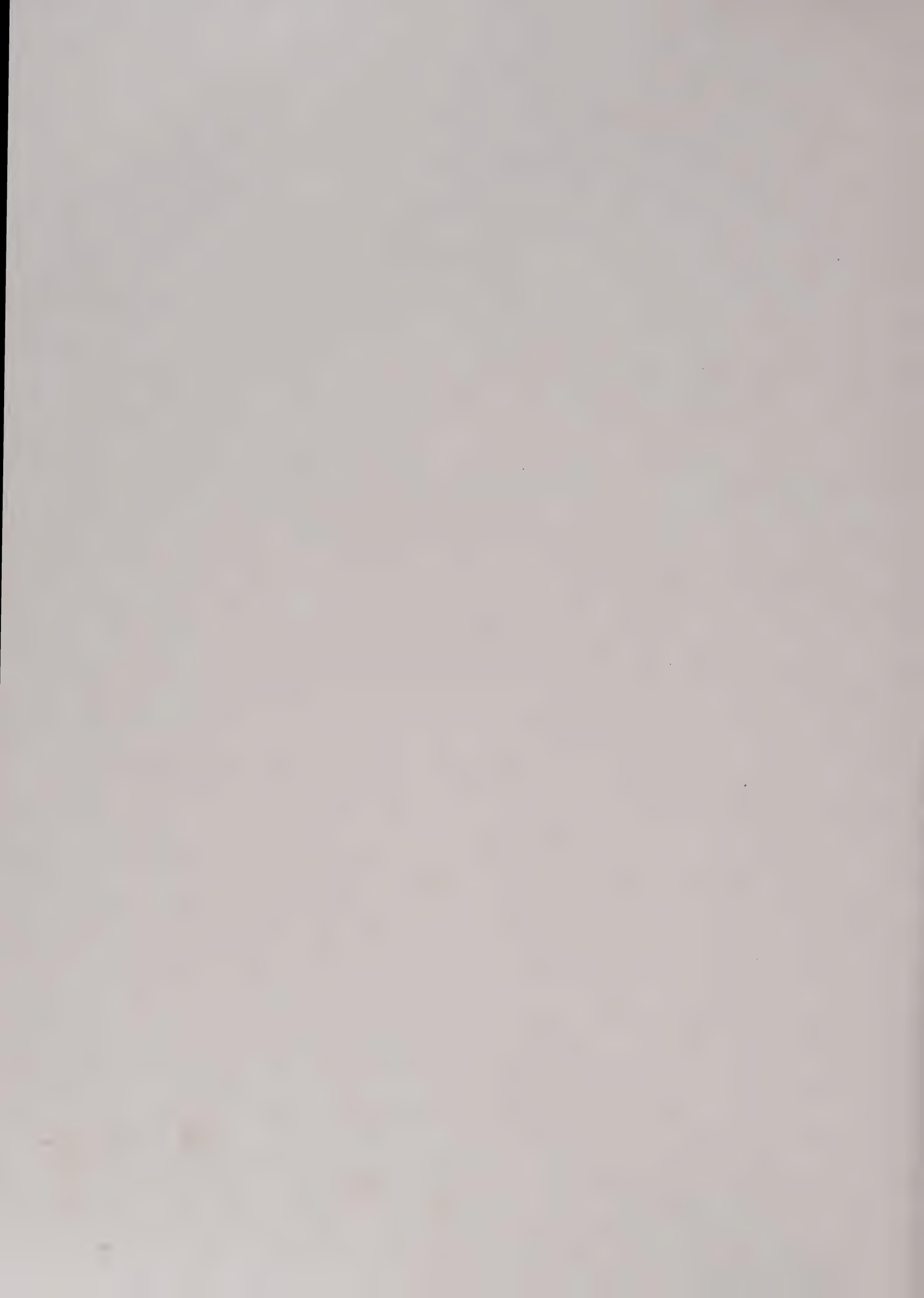
Club-headed pestle with a constricted grip
 East Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh
 Distribution : Rest of hand-operated mortar-and-pestle-using
 areas except Himachal Pradesh, Tehri Garhwal and Dehra Dun
 Districts of Uttar Pradesh



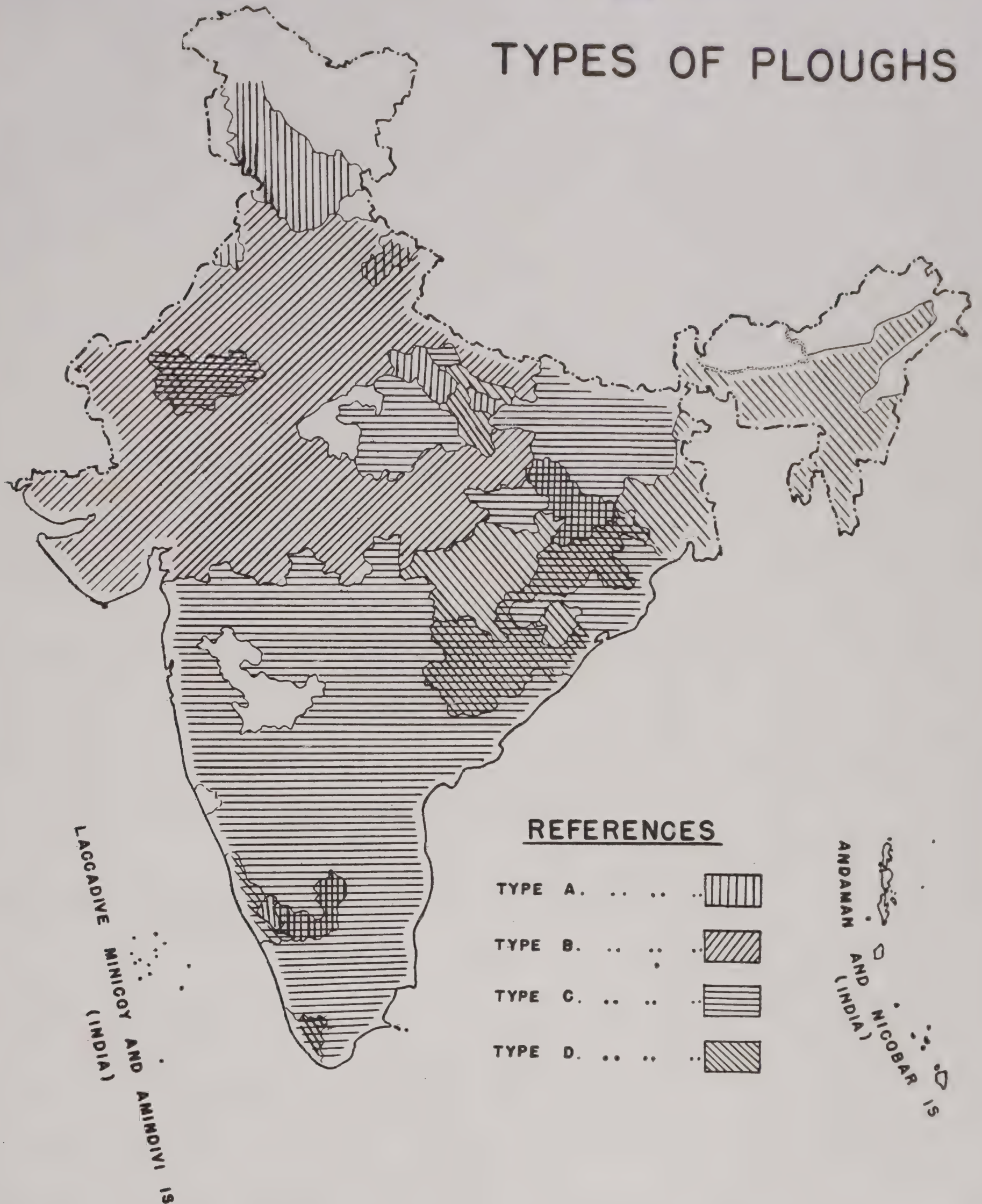
Pestle with club-head
 Banswara District, Rajasthan
 Distribution : Western Gujarat and Rajasthan



Pestle with grip in the middle,
 Dehra Dun District, Uttar Pradesh
 Distribution : Himachal Pradesh, Tehri Garhwal and Dehra Dun Districts
 of Uttar Pradesh



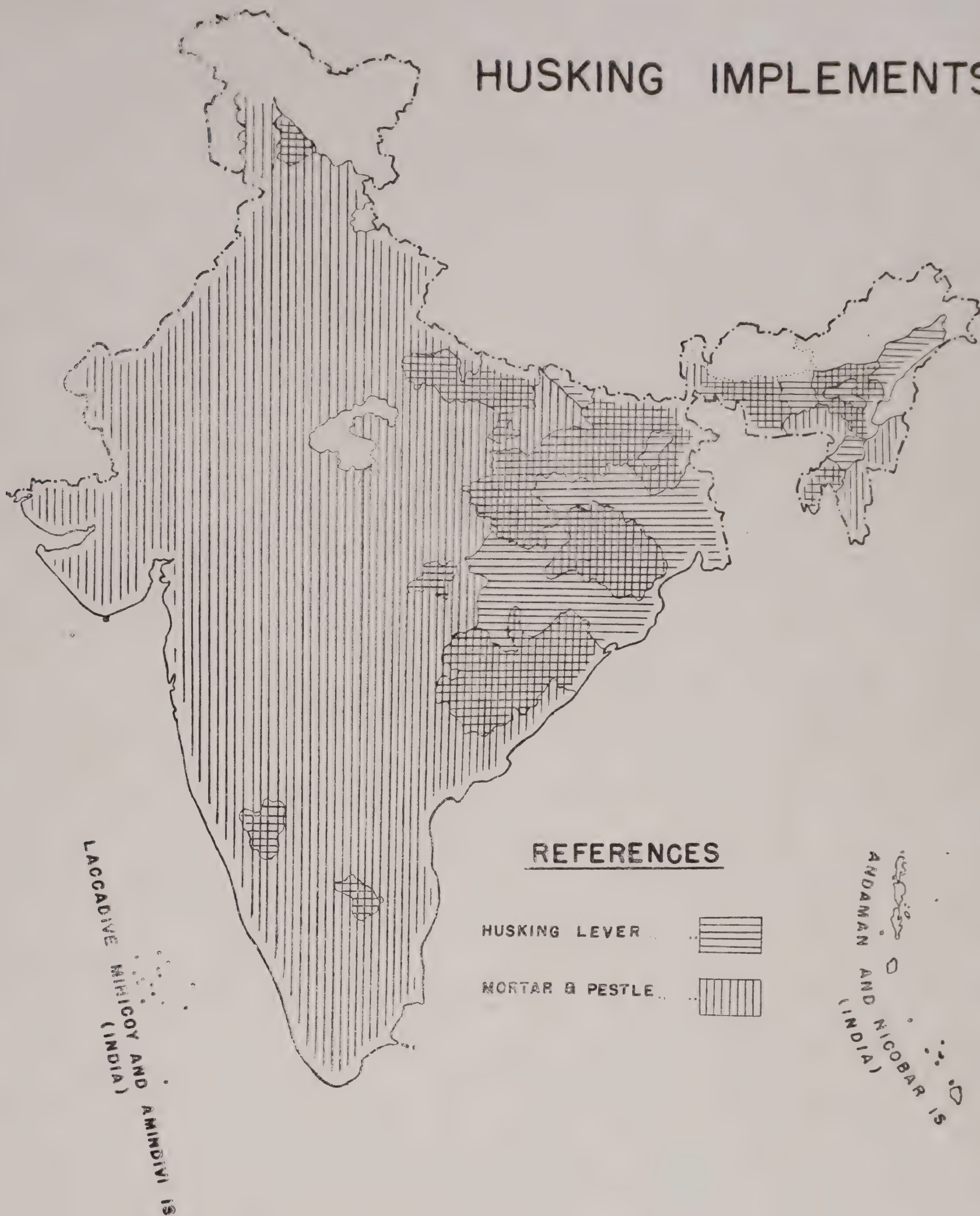
TYPES OF PLOUGHS



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.



HUSKING IMPLEMENTS



REFERENCES

HUSKING LEVER .. 

MORTAR & PESTLE .. 

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

VI MEN'S DRESS

PRANAB KUMAR DAS GUPTA

I LOWER GARMENT

In India the lower garment of men may be divided into two classes, namely, unsewn and sewn. The unsewn garment consists of a piece of waist-cloth popularly known as dhoti, the length of which varies from 7-10 cubits and the sewn one is a pyjama which is a loose pair of trousers tied by means of a string to the waist. Shorter dhotis, known by different names in different localities, are also worn during agricultural operations.



Kashmiri Muslim with yezar (salwar), pos and a wrapper, chadar pet



Old man of Saurashtra in breeches and pasabandi kediyu

There are three varieties of pyjamas, namely, (i) loose variety ; (ii) churidar or breeches with tight lower portion : (iii) salwar, baggy trousers with pleats at the lower margin.

DHOTI OR UNSEWN CLOTH

Dhoti is the most popular and widely distributed lower garment in India since fairly ancient times. In sculptures from Sanchi, Bharhut and Gandhara and also in the paintings of Ajanta which range from the first century B.C. we find the use of waist-cloth or dhoti.

Different styles of wearing the dhoti are prevalent in India. We may divide these styles into two broad categories:

- (1) With **kachha**¹ (one end of the cloth passes between the thighs and is tucked in at the back).
- (2) Without kachha (cloth is draped round the lower part of the body from the waist reaching below the knee) which may be termed as the **veshti** or **vetti**² style and is most prevalent in Madras and Kerala. In Kerala, the cloth is known as **mundu**. In West Bengal it is known as **lungi**.

DHOTI WITH KACHHA

Dhoti worn with kachha is widely distributed in India covering the States of Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra³, Mysore, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, eastern and northern parts of Gujarat, Rajasthan (except northern part of the district of Ganganagar where the veshti style is prevalent), southern part of the Punjab, the whole of Uttar Pradesh minus the Himalayan Division and three adjacent districts, namely, Saharanpur, Bijnor, and Moradabad, and Bihar. It

¹ The term "... appears to have been derived from the Samskrit word 'kaksha', from which too the terms of this feature in Indo-Aryan languages, 'kachha', 'kasa' are derived. 'kacce' or its variant 'gacce' is met with in the three Dravidian Languages. Kannada, Telugu, Tamil". (Ghurye, G. S., *Indian Costume*, Bombay, 1951, p. 203).

² Tamil term 'Lungi' is obviously related to the Burmese word for the same kind of dress named *loungyi* pronounced lounji. Has lungi anything to do with lahangi, or the skirt worn by women in the north ? The term lungi is also in use in the Punjab.

³ In Andhra Pradesh "the simplest mode of wearing the garment is to wrap it round the loins holding it in position by the side tucks without any gathers or pleats either at the back or front. When thus worn it hangs as a straight gatherless skirt like the 'lungi' and is known in Telugu as the 'godakattu' manner of wearing the 'dhoti'. But this is not a very favourite mode here though in Tamilnad it is the most frequent manner among higher classes." (Ghurye, 1951, *op. cit.* p. 204).

the rural Muslim population wear dhoti in general, lungi and pyjama are also worn by the latter.

VESHTI

Unsewn waist-cloth worn in veshti style is distributed over Madras⁴ and Kerala⁵. It is a short piece of cloth known as mundu in Kerala and vetti or veshu in Madras. Veshti style is also prevalent in the Punjab except in three southern districts and Kangra and only in the northern part of the

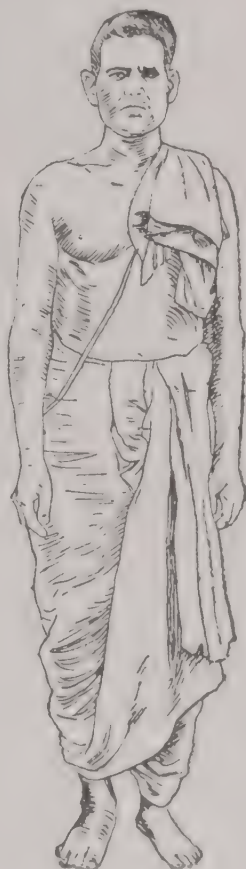


Bengali dhoti

ould be noted here that in some tribal pockets in these
ates a little variation in dress may be observed, and though



Dhoti in
Mysore



Dhoti in
Orissa



Nambudri
Brahman of Kerala
wearing a mundu

district of Ganganagar in Rajasthan. But here the cloth, known in Punjabi as **tamba**, is generally made of two narrow lengths of cloth sewn together. In Mizo Hills of Assam, the veshti style is also met with.

LANGOTI

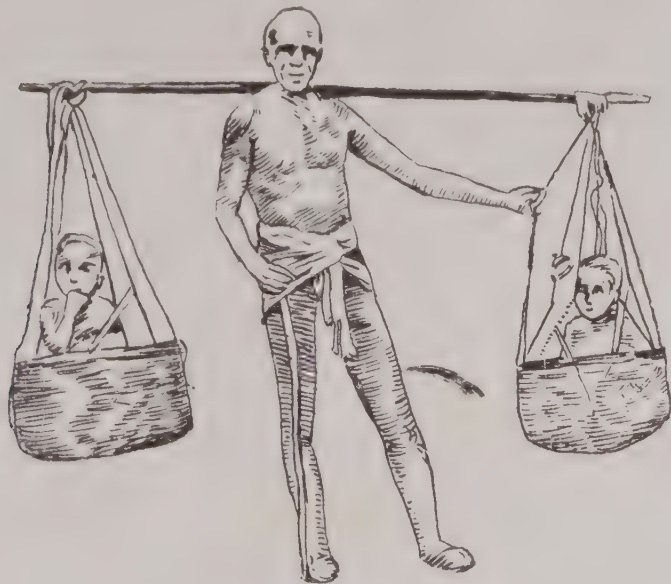
There is another variety of lower garment which falls within the unsewn class. It is a short cloth popularly known as **langoti**.

This small strip of cloth simply covers the perineal part. One end of the cloth is passed between the thighs and tucked

⁴ The conspicuous variation in the pattern of wearing the waist-cloth in Madras is that Tamil Brahmans wear the cloth invariably with kachha after marriage. However, an old Tamil Brahman might be he cannot wear the apparel with kachha if he is not married.

Nambudri Brahmans wear mundu without pleats, i.e. in veshti style, except on formal and ritual occasions when they wear in strict Brahmanic mode with both pleats properly folded and tucked. The first mode is known as *tattu* and the latter *thattudukkala*.

at the back in the waist string, the other end is wrapped round the loin in such a fashion that the back portion or sides of the leg remain uncovered or partly covered. Or, sometimes the langoti is a narrow inter-crural cloth with



An Oraon of Chotanagpur with langoti
(By permission from S. C. Roy's 'The Oraons of Chotanagpur, Ranchi', 1915)

ends tucked in front and back in the waist-string. The langoti style is popular usually among some tribes and poorer castes of the country and is very common in the districts of Bastar (dominated by the Gond), and Jhabua (dominated by the Bhil and Bhilala) of Madhya Pradesh, coastal districts, namely, Kolaba, Ratnagiri, and Kolhapur of Maharashtra, and Garo Hills of Assam.

SEWN TROUSERS OR PYJAMA

Trousers cover two widely separated zones, northern and western. The northern zone forms a continuous belt from Jammu and Kashmir upto north-western part of Uttar Pradesh including Himachal Pradesh and Kangra district of the Punjab. Districts Almora, Nainital, Pauri Garhwal, Tehri Garhwal, northern part of Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, Bijnor, and Moradabad of Uttar Pradesh fall within this pyjama zone. In Ludhiana, Patiala, and Sangrur districts of the Punjab both pyjama and waist-cloth worn in the veshti style are present. Both loose trousers and breeches (known as **churidar** or **repdar**) are worn in this northern zone. The loose salwar variety is common among the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.

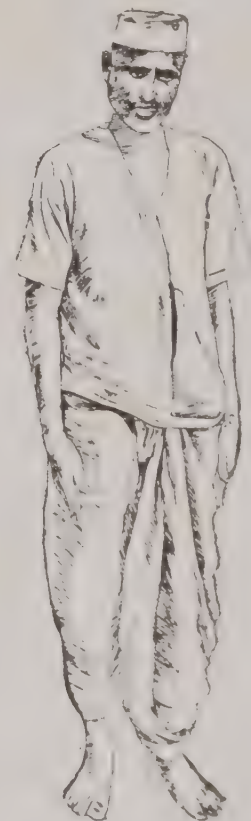
Western Gujarat consisting of the districts of Amreli, Bhavnagar, Junagadh, Jamnagar, Rajkot, Kutch, and Suren-

dranagar forms the western pyjama zone⁶. Both loose pyjamas and breeches are prevalent here. In West Bengal, it is only in the district of Darjeeling that pyjama is popular among in Nepalese, Bhutanese and Lepchas.

II UPPER GARMENT

Men's fashions in India have undergone widespread change due to the impact of the English; and this is strikingly revealed by costumes. Now it is very difficult to form a clear idea of the traditional dress pattern in different parts of India because English garments like trousers, shirts, or coats are not only favoured in urban areas but also have infiltrated into villages. The English shirt is a common upper garment, now-a-days, all over India, and a poor peasant or rich merchant, a low caste shoemaker or a high caste Brahman wears this apparel.

An ordinary peasant in India wears a cotton banian (short upper garment with half sleeve or no sleeve at all) or a shirt Banian is sometimes used as undergarment by rich people. In Kerala, poor people do not generally wear any upper garment in their village homes. While out on a



Peasant from Madhya Pradesh
wearing dhoti and banian

visit, they hang a short piece of cloth called *thorthumundu* or *randanmundu* on the left shoulder. Here the Izhavas

⁶ "Hemchandra finds the dress of the males of Surastra rather peculiar and manifestly different from that of those of Gujarashtra...the dress consisted of a piece of a cloth broad enough to reach and cover the ankles and worn without any pleats...It was taken up by, or was rather imposed upon, the males of Surashtra in order to proclaim their being like women before Malaraja, the victorious king" (who defeated the king Graha of Surastra), Ghurye, 1951, *op. cit.*, p. 291. Probable date of Hemachandra is third quarter of the 12th cent. A.D.)

both men and women) were not allowed to wear any upper garment till the beginning of the 20th century. In Andhra Pradesh, low castes only use a towel or *kanduva* placed on their shoulder. While going elsewhere they wear a banian. English shirt and banian are the common upper garments all over Madras, and a towel known as *thundu* or *angavasthiram* is a constant companion on the shoulder.

In some places like Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Jaunsar Bawar, etc., some extra apparels like *pos*, *eran*, *chola*, and *chora* are worn during winter.

Although banian and shirt are the common and popular upper garments in India at present, there are certain garments like *kurta*, *kabja* or *mirjai* which, in some areas, were said to be the traditional upper garments and are still retained by orthodox families. So, the present distribution of these garments may not produce the true picture of their use and distribution in olden days.

KURTA

Kurta is a long, loose, full-sleeved jacket without collar and still very popular in the Punjab. In Uttar Pradesh upper castes, generally Brahmans and Rajputs wear kurta. In eastern Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Bihar, West



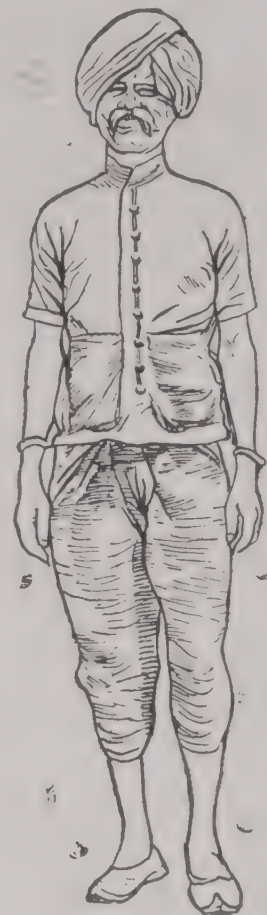
Old man of Uttar Pradesh wearing dhoti and kurta

Bengal, some parts of Assam, Manipur, and Orissa the kurta is also worn; but it is generally limited to rich people or high castes. In Andhra Pradesh, the use of kurta has been

reported only from Hyderabad district. So, from the above description it is clear that kurta is conspicuously absent in Dravidian India and Maharashtra.

KABJA

It is reported from some parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and western Madhya Pradesh that *kabja*, a half-



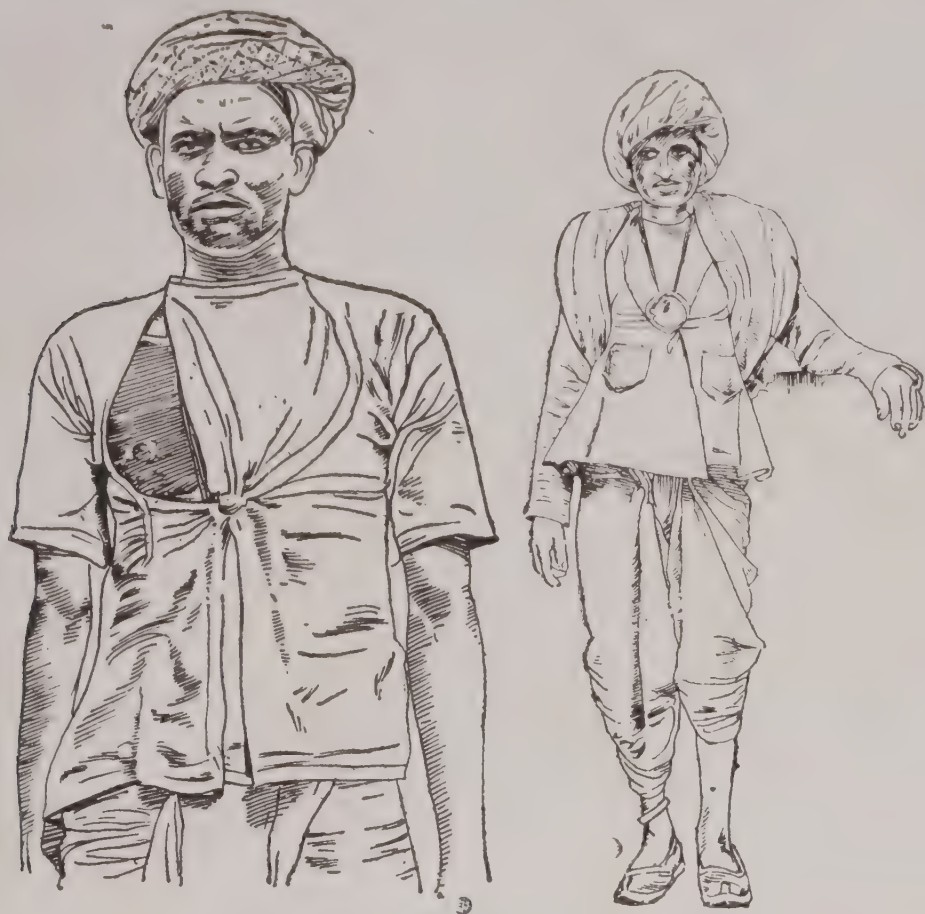
Washerman of Rajasthan with dhoti and a short upper garment (kabja)

sleeved, short garment of coarse cloth with open breast and buttons and V-neck, used to be worn in olden days. Now this garment, characteristic of western India, is almost obsolete.

MIRJAI

Mirjai is another old-fashioned jacket distributed over Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, parts of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar. In West Bengal and Mysore, a garment of this type is found in Darjeeling and Bidar districts respectively. Mirjai is a collarless, full-sleeved jacket fitting closely to the body upto the waist and with tassels for fastening either over the chest or at the waist. Except in Rajasthan, where it is known as *kamri* or *angarkhi*, this garment is almost obsolete in other areas mentioned. In Rajasthan, a similar type of garment, known as *bakhtari*, is made of a coarse cloth called *reja* and is usually worn by 'low' castes. In Maharashtra the Mirjai type is known as *barabandi* and is said to be the traditional garment for men. But now it is limited to certain high castes only. The peculiarity of the Gujarati type; locally known as *angdi* or *pasabandi kediya*, lies in

this that instead of fitting closely to the body below the chest it falls over that part in fairly close vertical gathers. In Uttar



Rajput of Rajasthan
wearing a half sleeved angarkhi

Kamri, typical
upper garment of
Rajasthan

Pradesh, it is said that mirjai was the traditional garment for Brahmans and Rajputs. In Bihar, mirjai is now worn by a few old rich people. In Darjeeling district in West Bengal, old Nepali Hindus wear a *daura* which resembles a mirjai. Over *daura*, a waist-band called *patuka* is coiled round tightly.

If we analyse the above data it appears that garments like mirjai, kabja or kurta are fairly ancient and extend over the whole of India, except the Dravidian South, and go back into fairly olden times. The absence of sewn garments in South India is further illustrated when the ritual and festive dress in that area is studied, when it is customary to put off all sewn garments. This is particularly noticeable when a visitor has to discard all sewn clothing as well as upper garments if he wishes to enter a temple like that of Padmanabhaswami in Trivandrum, or attend Vedic ceremonies in a temple like that of Saraswati in Sringeri in Mysore.

It should be noted here that in West Bengal also during ritual performances like marriage or *sraddha* no sewn garment is worn. In Uttar Pradesh it is a custom, particularly among high castes, not to wear any sewn garment while taking the meals. A similar custom is prevalent among Dahal Brahmans of eastern Nepal⁷.

III HEAD-GEAR

Two types of head-gear, namely, turban and cap, are worn in India of which the latter, distributed in small patches, seems to be a comparatively recent innovation and is usually discarded on ritual and ceremonial occasions. The turban is made of a piece of cloth, usually of finer texture and of varying length and shade, sometimes dependent on caste or the class to which a person belongs. The style of tying the turban also varies from place to place and a person in Rajasthan or Gujarat can often be identified by his style. The turban seems to be very ancient in India. In Bharhut sculptures (2nd century B.C.) we find the use of voluminous turbans.

WESTERN AND CENTRAL INDIA : MAIN TURBAN ZONE

Western and Central India form the main turban zone in India. In the Punjab, Rajasthan, western Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, eastern and southern parts of Maharashtra, and Mysore, the turban is a very popular head-gear and is worn during both ceremonial and ordinary occasions. In the Punjab it is known by different local names like, *mundasa*, *safa*, *phainta*, *pag*, *khandua*, or *pagri*. In Rajasthan there are different styles of tying the turban, e.g., *pheri ka phenta*, *sada phenta*, *paggar*, etc., dependent on caste or class affiliation. A man may not enter a Sikh temple or attend a religious function there with his head bare.

NORTHERN INDIA : TURBAN-cum-CAP ZONE

In Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, and Kashmir both turbans and caps of different varieties are in use. But it should be noted here that the turban is worn on ceremonial occasions, particularly by the bridegroom during marriage. In Uttar Pradesh, the turban is the traditional head-gear and a yellow or orange-coloured turban is an important element of the bridegroom's dress. Cap is an innovation and white *Gandhi topi* is the popular variety worn. In Himachal Pradesh, *Gandhi topi* of cotton and a woollen circular cap with conical top, commonly known as *bandar topi*, are both met with. In Jammu and Kashmir turban, *safa* or *pagri*, worn in different styles, is the common head-gear. Cotton cap, *tup*, and circular woollen caps with conical top, *kantup*, are also worn.

EASTERN INDIA

In eastern India consisting of Orissa, West Bengal, Assam and Bihar, the use of head-gear is not common. In this area, the peasants usually wrap a piece of napkin or towel loosely round the head while working in the fields. In Orissa during marriage the Hindu bridegroom wears a turban or *pagri* among all castes. In West Bengal turban or any

of head-gear is totally absent except in Darjeeling where ton or woollen caps or topis are popular among the Nepalese, Bhutanese and Lepchas. Muslims of this State wear topi or *fez* caps during *namaz* or prayer. In Assam, inarily no head-gear is worn. But it has been reported some areas that the turban used to be worn in olden days and in some tribal pockets it is still in use. In Manipur formerly people wear a white turban only on ceremonial occasions and during religious congregations. In the north-west-part of Bihar and adjoining districts of Uttar Pradesh, turban or *muretha* is usually worn. In north-eastern Bihar head-gear is not common except among Maithil Brahmans who wear a *pag* or circular cotton cap.

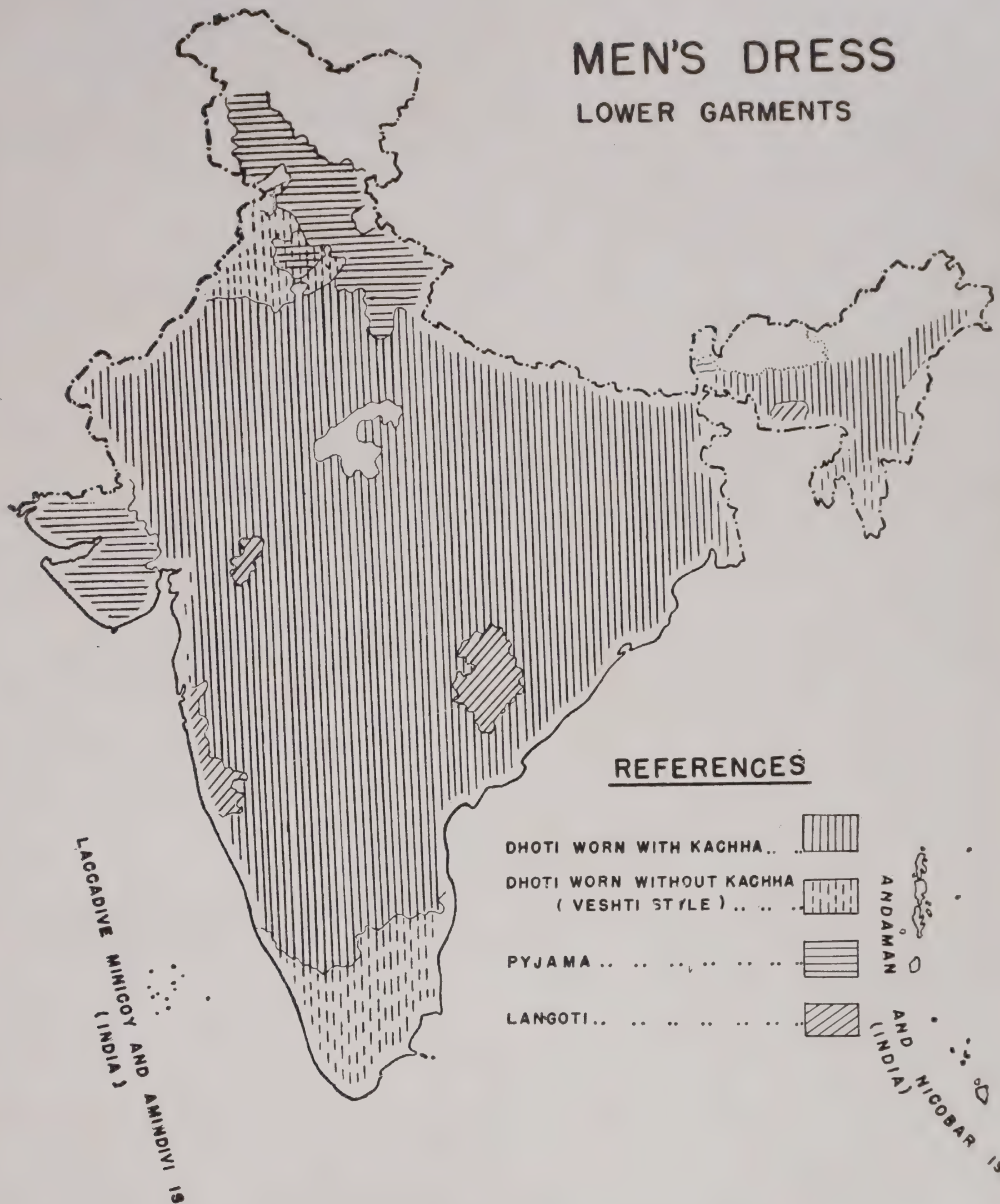
SOUTHERN INDIA

When we proceed towards the south and reach Kerala, Madras, and Andhra Pradesh, the chief difference, we find,

in the male garment is the almost total absence of turban or any kind of head-gear. In Kerala only the Mappila Muslims wear a gaily decorated skull-cap embroidered with silk thread. The Jews of Palghat district wear a skull-cap or turban. In Ernakulam, formerly members of the royal family used to wear a turban of Mughal design. In Madras, only in the Nilgiris some communities wear a white turban. In the district of Madura, a turban of red cloth known as *koturuma* used to be worn about forty years ago. In Andhra Pradesh, in the district of west Godavari, high castes like Brahmans or Komatis and low castes, like Mala, do not wear any head-gear; only the middle class, Settibalgi, use a turban or *talapaga*. In Anantpur and Kurnool, only the Lingayat sect wears turbans, talapaga. In Adilabad, Nizambad, and Medak districts turban known as *paga*, *sella* or *palka* are worn. Labourers in the south, while at work, loosely wrap a piece of cloth, a napkin, or a towel round their head as a protection against the sun.

MEN'S DRESS

LOWER GARMENTS



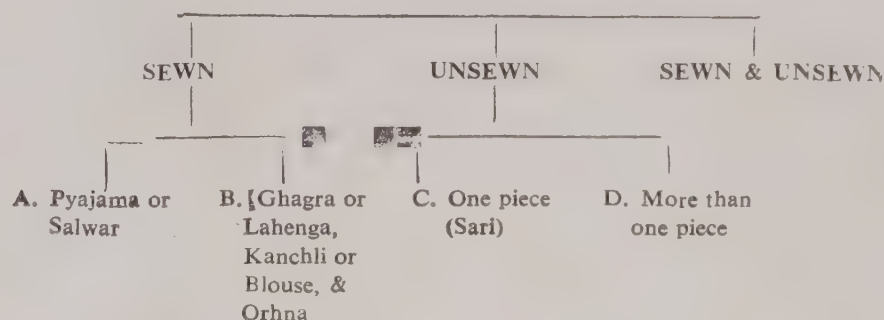
The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.



VII WOMEN'S DRESS

C. R. RAJALAKSHMI

The dress worn by women in Indian villages can be classified formally as follows :



Besides these five distinct types, there are certain areas where more than one dress style are found simultaneously.

SEWN GARMENTS

ZONE OF PYJAMA

The zone where the pyjama or the *salwar*, *kamiz* or *kurta* and *dopatta* are worn includes Jammu and Kashmir State, Himachal Pradesh and almost the whole of the Punjab, *minus* a narrow strip in the south. Details of the items that comprise the dress of this zone, are as follows :



Women of Kashmir wearing feran (left) and pyjama and kamiz (right)

(a) **Pyjama or Salwar or Suthan** : It is a sewn, loose pair of trousers tied at waist with a string and reaching down to the ankles. The suthan, which is tight at ankles, seems to be out of fashion now-a-days and only old orthodox women wear it.

(b) **Kamiz or Kurta** : It is a long full-sleeved blouse, extending up to the knee. A long, flowing cloak worn by some Hindu women in Kashmir, which covers the upper part of the body and also hangs down to the ankles or a little above, is called *feran*. While wearing the *feran*, women do not wear the salwar or pyjama or suthan.

(c) **Kalpash** : It is a cap of bright red colour.

Zuj : Cotton cloth, placed above the kalpush and covering the pig-tails.

Taranga : Long white cloth or veil wound round the head over the kalpush in folds.

Pooch : Placed on the crown of the head, above kalpush and zuj and flowing at the back with two half-coiled tails at the bottom. It is made of *malmal* cloth.

Dopatta : The head is covered with dopatta (a piece of unsewn veil), tied in the middle below the face, partly showing the taranga fold in front and the half-coiled tails of pooch hanging at the back,

This elaborate head-gear is worn only in Kashmir while other parts of this zone, either a cap or a dopatta is used.

Now-a-days, some Brahman and Rajput women wear blouses and blouses. They do not wear the dopatta, but draw the edge of the sari on the head as a *pallav* or veil.

OF SKIRT OF GHAGHRA

This zone comprises Rajasthan, Kutch, Gujarat, the north-eastern portion of Madhya Pradesh and certain parts of Uttar Pradesh where the items of dress are as follows :

(a) **Ghagra or Lahenga** : A wide skirt stitched out of one piece of cloth, the length of which varies from 6 yards to 12 yards. This is tied at the waist.

There are two methods of stitching the ghagra.

(i) Frills are made at one side of the cloth (the side, which has no border). The free vertical ends are usually



Women of Gujarat
wearing ghagra,
blouse and lugra

Bhil girl
wearing lahenga (tucked in front)
kabja and orhni

in traditional attire
Banjara woman

stitched together. But married women among some 'lower' castes in Gujarat fear the skirt without stitching the free ends and they call it *zimi*.

(ii) Triangular pieces of either plain or printed cloth are stitched together to form a skirt. These triangular pieces are called *kali*. At the lower rim of the completed

skirt, a border—narrow or wide—is attached. This type of skirt is more popular in Rajasthan. The number of *kalis* is not fixed.



Woman of Rajasthan in ghagra
orhni and Kauchli

In certain areas, women belonging to upper and lower castes have distinctive colours for their skirts.

(b) **Kanchli** : This is an indigenous, brassiere-like blouse, worn only by married women. The blouse has no back and to keep it in position on the body, it is tied at the back of the neck and waist, by means of two parts of strings attached at the four free corners of the blouse. The blouse is very short and does not extend beneath the breasts. In stitching this blouse, multi-coloured or multi-designed triangular pieces of cloth are used*.

(c) **Kurti** : On festive occasions or while going out of the village, a blouse is worn over the kanchli. The neck of this blouse is cut very low.

(d) **Kabja** : This is either a long-sleeved or half-sleeved blouse which is worn by unmarried girls.

(e) **Orhna or Lugra** : This is a veil, the length of which ranges from $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards to 4 yards. One of its ends is tucked at the left side of the ghagra in front and the other end is taken to cover the back and drawn over the head. It then either dangles at the back or in front or else veils the face itself.

Between the areas occupied by unsewn garments and sewn garments, there is a narrow strip of land lying almost all along the boundary of these two regions where both sari

*Modern brassiere may be a development of this

as well as ghagra occur in a good ratio. In this contact zone of north Uttar Pradesh, where the three major zones meet, different dress-styles are found simultaneously in the same area as indicated in the map.

In all the districts, where there is a combination of sari along with sewn garments, it is observed that women of the Brahman, and at times one or two castes next to the Brahman in the hierarchy, use saris while women of lower castes wear the lahenga or ghagra, etc.

I am informed by one of my colleagues who hails from Bihar that, among the Maithili Brahmans, girls wear saris long before attaining puberty. But at the time of marriage, the bride, irrespective of her age, which usually varies from 11 to 20, wears a ghagra also. In the sari-wearing areas in the ghagra zone, in Gujarat, the ghagra forms an essential item in the marriage costume of the bride.

In the districts of Budaun, Pilibhit, Rampur and Agra in northern Uttar Pradesh, Hindu women wear sari and



Women in N. W. Uttar Pradesh
in sari or kamiz and dopatta

blouse or ghagra, etc., while Muslim women wear pyjama or salwar, etc.

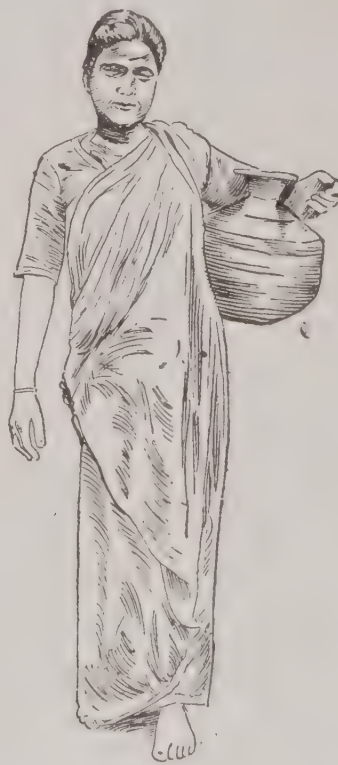
Those women in the extreme north of Uttar Pradesh in the districts of Almora, Dehra Dun and Garhwal who wear ghagra, coil a long piece of unsewn cloth round the waist in two or three rounds, above the ghagra, and take the ends of it cross-wise over the breasts and keep them hanging on the shoulders. At times this cloth is drawn over the head like a veil. Nepali and Bhutanese women in the Darjeeling District also wear this waist-band.

Chadar is another additional piece of unsewn cloth, used in many districts of Uttar Pradesh by women who wear saris in the same way as the shawl is worn by modern girls, while going out during winter.

UNSEWN GARMENTS

Typological, the distribution of the single piece of unsewn cloth as the dress-style for women, covers the largest area of our country. This zone comprises the States of Maharashtra, Mysore, Madras, Andhra, Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, the major part of Madhya Pradesh, and parts of Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh.

Although women of this vast zone wear one unsewn piece of cloth to cover the lower as well as upper parts of



Girl in a West Bengal Village



Woman in Orissa

the body, there are wide regional variations regarding the mode of wearing and the length of cloth used. Usually, the length of this unsewn piece of cloth varies from 5 yards to 10 yards while the breadth is about 45 inches.

The following aspects of wearing the sari have been utilized in defining the styles prevalent in different areas of India.

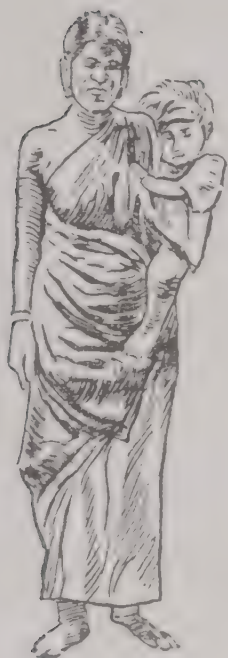
- (i) Wearing of *kachha*.
- (ii) The position of *sari-pallav* or *orhna-pallav* whether it hangs in front or at the back and rests on the right or left shoulder.



Woman in Orissa at worship



Women on the border of Andhra and Mysore

Woman in Coorg
in traditional attire

Woman in Madras

It is obvious from the map that kachha is a feature occurring in south India and a part of central India. This zone, in which kachha is worn from part of the sari can be divided into four sub-regions.

(a) Maharashtra and a few districts in Madhya Pradesh, namely, Chhindwara, Seoni, Mandla, Jabalpur, Damoh and Saugor form one region where all women irrespective of caste and civil condition wear the single unsewn sari with a kachha.

(b) The second sub-region is the strip of land to the north-east of the above sub-zone and includes some districts in Madhya Pradesh (Durg, Raipur, Bilaspur, Raigarh, Shahdol, Surguja, Sidhi, Rewa, Satna, Panna, Chhatarpur and Tikamgarh, Betul, east Nimar and Indore), and the south of the districts of Allahabad and Fatehpur and Jhansi in Uttar Pradesh. The fisherwomen of Allahabad and Fatehpur districts adopt the kachha style while in all the other above-mentioned districts of Madhya Pradesh women of 'lower' castes wear their saris with a kachha.

(c) The third sub-region includes three States of South India, namely, Madras, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh, excluding Coorg in Mysore and Adilabad and Karimnagar districts in the last. In this area, married Brahman women alone use the kachha in wearing the sari.

(iii) Veiling the head with dopatta, orhna or sari-pallav.

METHOD OF WEARING THE KACHHA

Kachha is a term generally used to denote the style of wearing a long piece of unsewn cloth, round the loins, with a certain length of it passing between the legs and tucked usually at the back. In this style, the unsewn garment comes like sewn trousers instead of remaining like a free-flowing skirt as otherwise.

(d) The last sub-region comprises Kerala State, where women belonging to higher castes adopt the kachha style.

In the first two sub-regions, the kachha is generally of one type. Here, the kachha or rather the length of cloth which is tucked in at the back, after passing between the



Front and back view of Maharashtrian kachha

legs, can be seen at the back, and is not very tightly drawn. The Thakur fisherwomen along the coast of Bombay wear kachha of a different nature. Here, the kachha is very tight and the sari is generally worn a little high. Here also the kachha can be seen from outside, and not concealed as among Tamil and Andhra Brahmans.

In the third area, which includes Mysore, Andhra and Madras, the kachha is in vogue only among Brahman women after marriage.

(i) Mysore : Married Brahman women of this area generally wear kachha of the type explained above. In Coorg, women have not adopted the kachha style.

(ii) Andhra : After marriage, Andhra Brahman women wear sari with a kachha. From the front, the kachha is not visible, but at the back it is slightly visible. Here the kachha is covered by taking the free-end of the sari round the loins once more before the pallav or veil is carried over the breast.



Front and back view of Andhra kachha

In Adilabad and Karimnagar districts, women of all castes adopt the kachha style of Maharashtra.

(iii) Madras : Tamil Brahmans fall into two broad categories, namely, Iyer and Iyengar. Women of these two groups have different ways of wearing the kachha.

Fig. A indicates the Iyengar style of kachha. Usually, nine yards of an unsewn piece of cloth is used by these women. When the sari is worn in this style, the appearance of the garment, in the portions between the knees and ankles (on both legs), looks like the ends of a regular stitched pyjama, tight at the ankles.

Fig. B depicts the Iyer style of kachha. In this style the pyjama-like feature appears on the right leg, while on the left side, a number of pleats hang down from the waist and the sari-pallav always rests on the right shoulder.

In both, Iyengar as well as Iyer styles of kachha, the kachha is not visible outside, for it is covered over as in the case of Andhra Brahmans ; but the pyjama-like feature at the ankle remains visible.

In Tamil Nad, the kachha style of wearing the sari is called *madisaaru*. It appears that in Kannada and Telugu

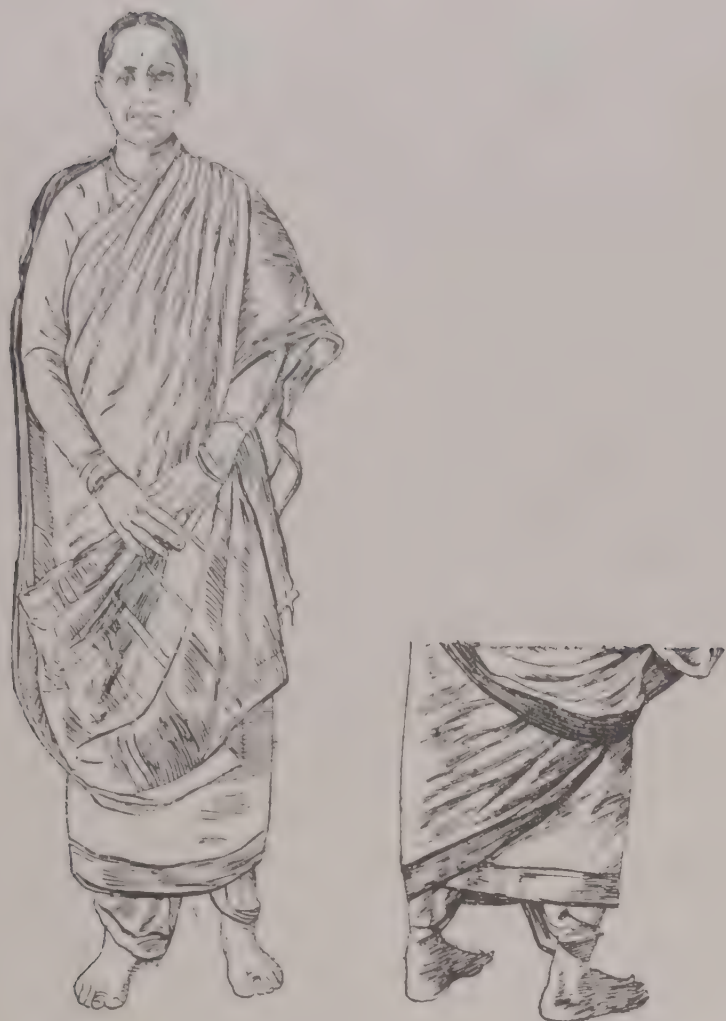


Fig A Front and back view of Iyenger kachha

There is no other word for it besides kachha. But in Kannada, *madiseere* is a term used to denote a sari which

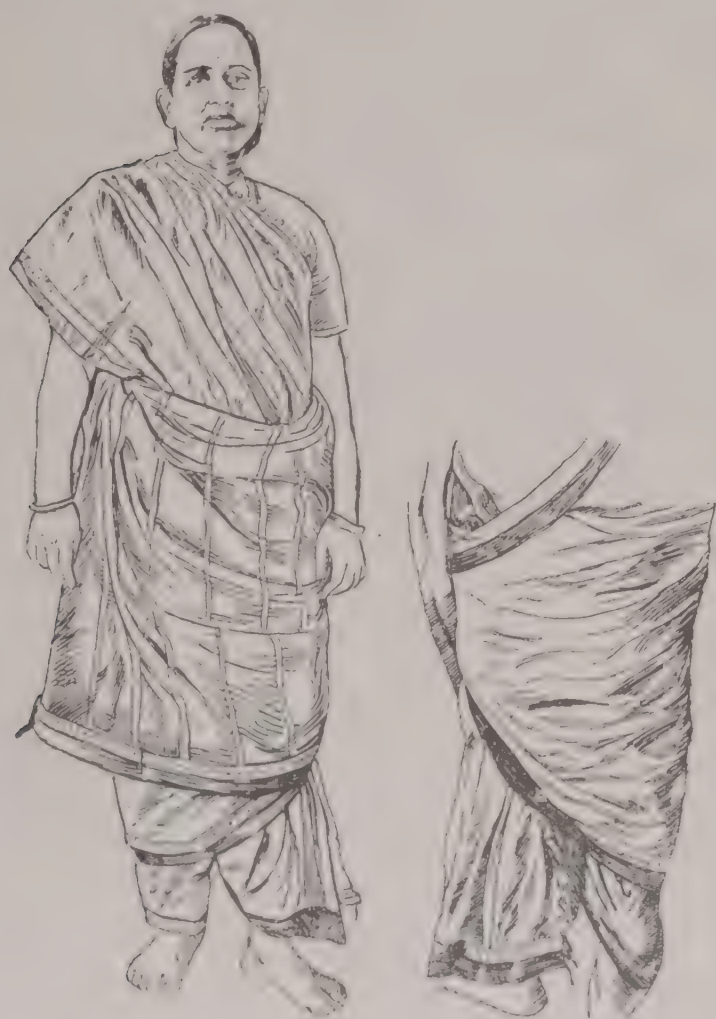


Fig B Front and back view of Iyer kachha

is ritually clean and which has to be worn on occasions of ritual importance.

Even among the most highly urbanized south Indian Brahman women, one is expected to adopt one's traditional mode of wearing the sari with a kachha on a few occasions, which are as follow :

At one's own marriage

While performing certain ceremonies, on the occasion of the marriage of one's own children.

At the time of cooking food which is to be offered to the ancestors on the day of their anniversary ceremonies.

At the time of performing *vratas* and *pujas* and

while receiving blessings from their religious preceptors like Sri Sankarachariar (for Iyers) and Jiyar (for Iyengars).

The only occasion, when married Brahman women of south India are expected not to adopt the kachha is during the first three days of their menstrual period.

Lastly, we have Kerala where women, belonging to the Nambudiri, Menon and Nair castes, have adopted the kachha style which is very different from the styles we have discussed so far. An unsewn piece of cloth, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and broad about 1 yard is tied at the waist round the loins. The remaining length of this cloth is taken between the legs and tucked in at the back. This approximates the modern underwear, extending from waist up to the knees or a little above. Over this is worn another piece of unsewn cloth of 2 to 3 yards which covers the kachha completely.

All women of these three higher castes mentioned above, irrespective of their civil condition, wear this piece of cloth, in this way.

ON THE POSITION OF SARI OR ORHNA-PALLAV

The zone where the sari or orhna-pallav rests on the right shoulder and hangs in front largely coincides with the ghagra zone of dress style.

In certain areas, it is observed that the sari-pallav is brought from the back and is tied or fixed with a pin among urbanized women, to the length of the cloth which is drawn up over the breast in front.

In south India, Coorg women and women of the



Woman of Muduvan
tribe in Kottayam
District

Muduvan tribe of Kottayam district in Kerala wear one unsewn piece of cloth in this style.

As we proceed northwards we find this style occurring in Bastar in the village of Kinjoli among the younger generation. When we go still farther north, this feature appears again among some women in Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh. During summer, some women of Jammu district adopt this style.

Although this style of wearing an unsewn piece of cloth is present in various small but scattered areas, it is interesting to observe that the knot is always found on or below the right shoulder.

In the whole of south India and eastern India, the sari-pallav hangs at the back from the front, and invariably rests on the left shoulder excepting in the case of a few small groups.

THE VEIL

On a broad basis, it is observed that in the whole of northern India women draw the sari-pallav or orhna or dopatta on the head, while in south India in the States of Madras, Andhra and southern Mysore, veiling the head among women is generally associated with Brahman widows. In Kerala, a Hindu woman does not usually cover her head.

In this vast area, blouses are worn by a large number of women in many villages. But in certain areas, it is still not worn by all women while they are indoors. I am told that Brahman women in the north should not wear blouses while cooking food in the kitchen which is looked upon as sacred. In Bihar, the custom is still in vogue in some households, while in Uttar Pradesh it has practically disappeared.

In many parts of India the blouses (a sewn garment) have been accepted in rituals among Brahman women. It is highly speculative to give an exact date for the introduction of blouses, as it varies from region to region, village to village and caste to caste, and even within one caste, from family to family.

The zone where more than one unsewn piece of cloth is worn includes Kerala and central and southern Assam. In these areas, an unsewn piece of cloth is worn round the loins to cover the lower part of the body. Another unsewn piece

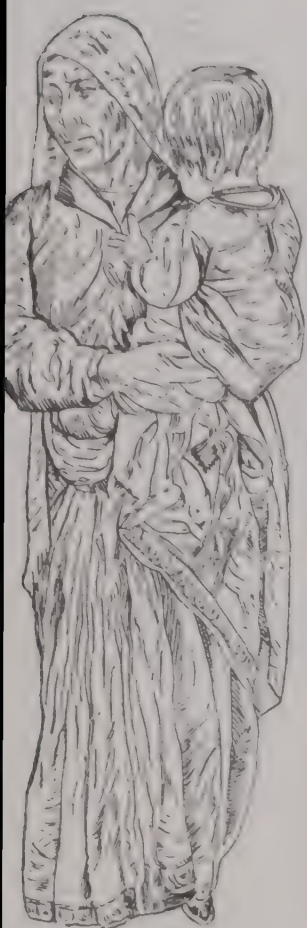


Kerala woman with two pieces of
unsewn cloth

is thrown over the breast at times. But in Kachar district of Assam, a good number of women wear sari and a blouse, while others wear more than one unsewn piece of cloth.

In Assam during winter, a third piece serves as a wrapper for warmth.

The last and smallest zone, comprises the northern part of Darjeeling district and the northern strip of Assam. In the northern part of Darjeeling, Lepchas, Bhutias, Dukpas, Nepali Chetris, Rais and Tamangs form the majority of the population. Their women wear sewn as well as unsewn garments traditionally. The items of their dress are as follow :



Nepali woman with
sewn upper garment
and unsewn lower
garment



Assamese woman in
mekhela, chadar and
blouse

Fanrio or Gunio A piece of unsewn cloth worn at the waist with pleats in front.

Mujitro A piece of unsewn cloth which covers the head like a veil.

Cholo A full-sleeved sewn blouse.

A long piece of coloured cloth, four yards, is tied round the waist and this cloth is called *patuka*.

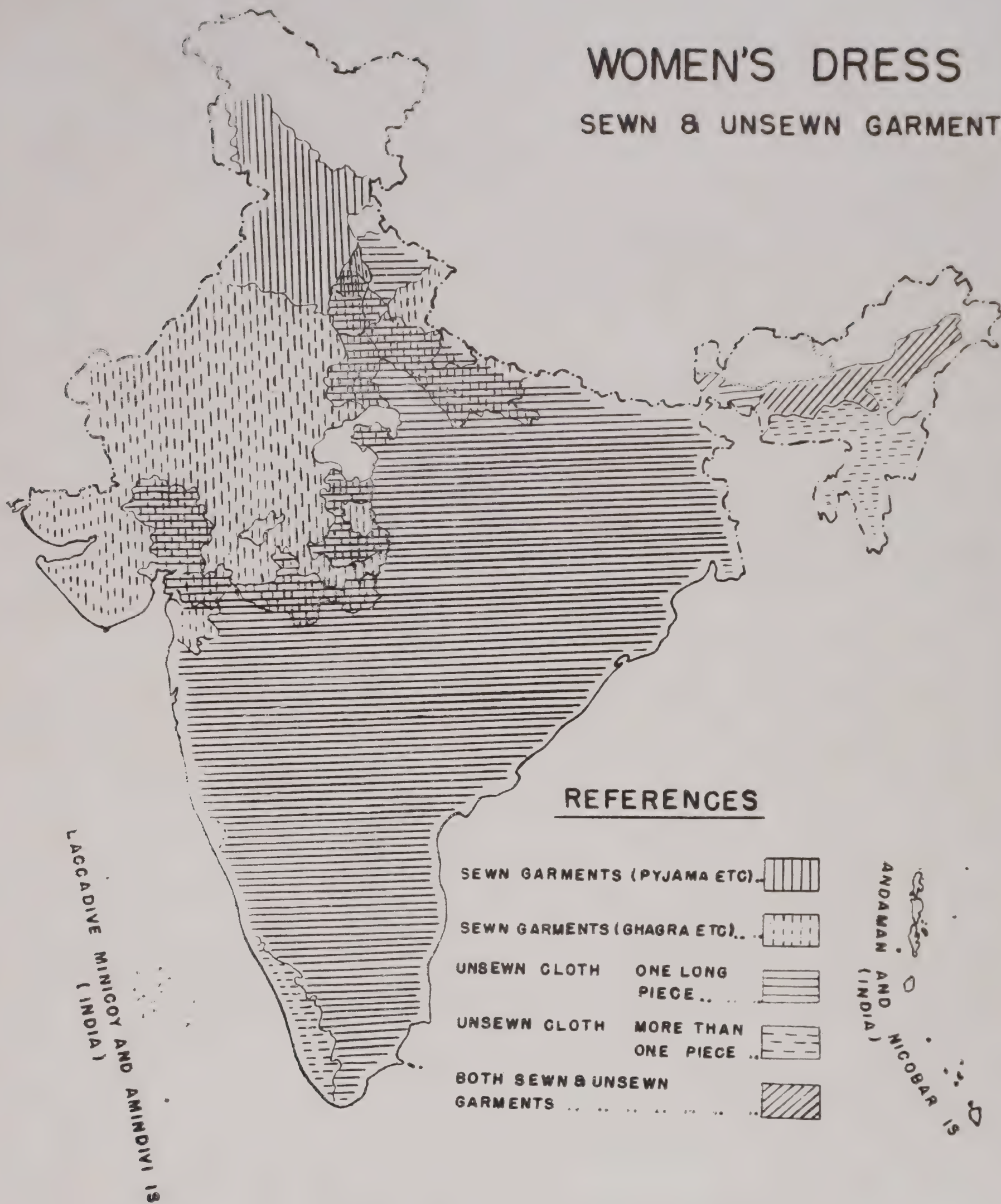
The northern strip of Assam in which are included the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, the Assamese form the majority of the population. Their women wear a sewn skirt called *mekhela* and one or two wrappers (*riba* and *chadar*). The skirt has no stitched gatherings and is not very wide also ; but the two vertical free ends are sewn together and is worn just as men wear the stitched lungi. The wrapper with which they cover the upper part of the body is an unsewn piece. Now-a-days, some women buy and wear ready-made blouses.

Although it is a known fact that the dress of Indian women is colourful, it is interesting to note that certain colours are preferred or prescribed in each region for the dress of the bride at the time of marriage. The following table has been prepared with the available data :

State	Caste	Colour preferred for dress of bride
Kerala	Among all castes	White
Madras	Particularly among Brahmans	Shades of red & green
Andhra	Among almost all castes	Yellow
Mysore	Particularly among Brahmans	Yellow (red is tabooed because widows wear red saris)
Orissa	Among almost all castes	Yellow or red
West Bengal	Among almost all castes	Shades of red
Bihar	Among almost all castes	Yellow or pink
Uttar Pradesh	Among almost all castes	Red
Madhya Pradesh	Among all castes in East M.P.	Pink
Rajasthan	Among almost all castes	Red
Gujarat	Among almost all castes	Red
Maharashtra	Among almost all castes	Red
Kashmir & Jammu	Among almost all castes	Shades of red

WOMEN'S DRESS

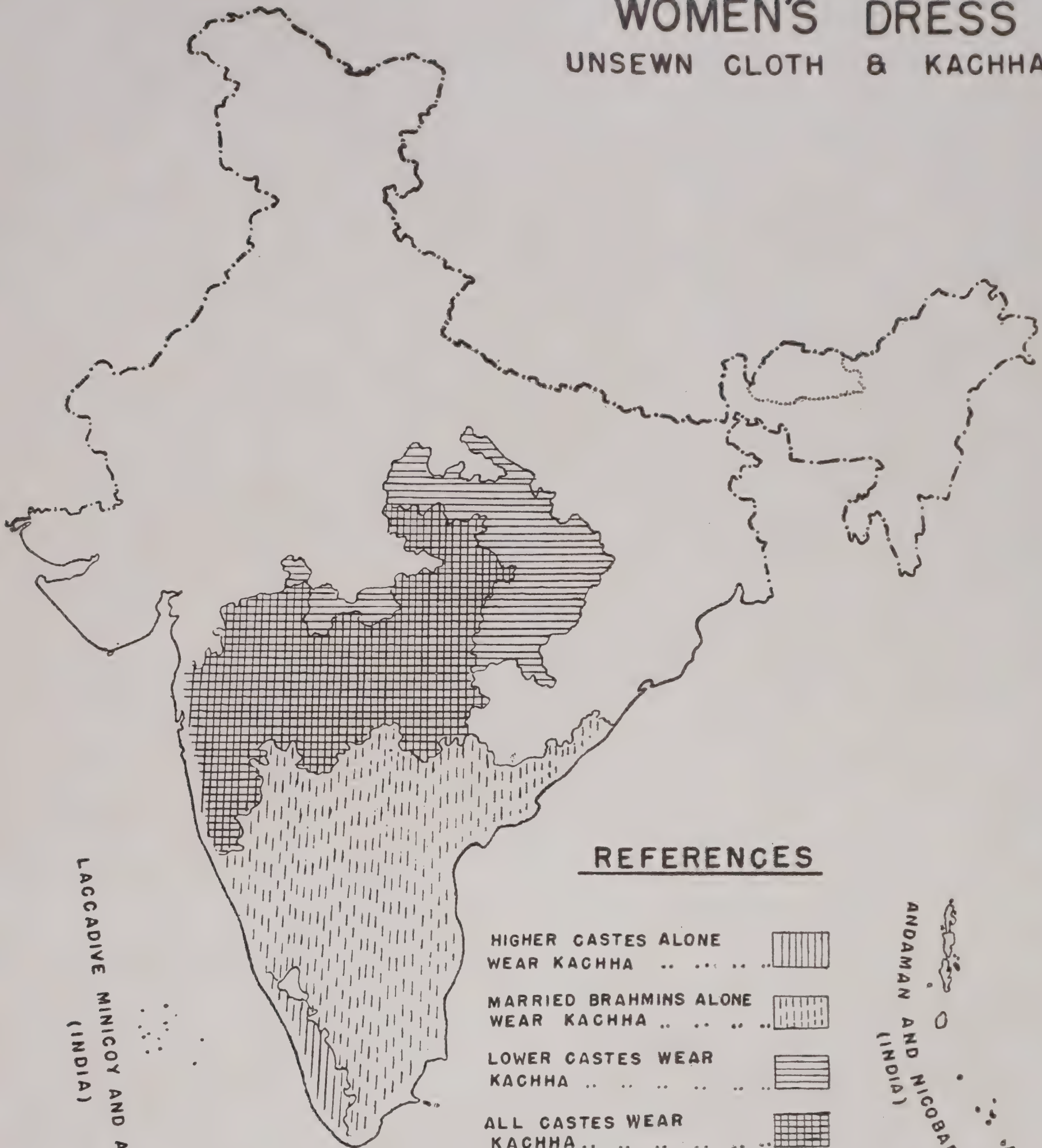
SEWN & UNSEWN GARMENTS



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

WOMEN'S DRESS





UNSEWN CLOTH & KACHHA



LACCADIVE MINICOI AND AMINDIVI IS
(INDIA)

ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR IS
(INDIA)

REFERENCES

- HIGHER CASTES ALONE WEAR KACHHA 
- MARRIED BRAHMIN'S ALONE WEAR KACHHA 
- LOWER CASTES WEAR KACHHA 
- ALL CASTES WEAR KACHHA 

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

VIII FOOT-GEAR

S. G. MORAB

We have to disregard various styles of shoes or slippers which are in use in towns. These exercise undoubted influence on the villages; but our intention here is to restrict ourselves to indigenous styles of foot-gear in use in rural India. This affords an interesting example of regional differentiation as well as of proliferation of sub-styles having limited geographical extension. It should perhaps be indicated at this point that in fairly extensive areas, it is not customary even for men to wear any kinds of shoes. For women, such areas are geographically much more extensive. This zone is formed by absence of foot-gear of any style, and covers the southern, south-eastern and north-eastern districts of India.

In the main, two clear types of foot-gear can be distinguished. One is the sandal consisting of a leather or wooden sole attached to the foot by thongs of leather or by ropes of grass. The other is the unlaced shoe, which does not rise above the ankle except in one or two rare

cases. For the moment, we shall relegate wooden sandals to a separate section for the sake of convenience.

There is a functional difference between sandals and shoes. Sandals generally do not have a strap to hold it in the back tight to the heel; so that, as one walks, the sandal has to be held to the foot by a slight pressure of the toes, otherwise, it is likely to slip off in front. The uppers of the shoe, on the other hand, extend round the heel, so that it holds fast to the foot and no effort is needed for holding it in place by means of the toes.

Sandals are of several kinds in India, and we shall try to describe them and indicate their distribution all over the country.

SANDAL

(a) Sandals of leather have a small clasp into which the great toe fits or a thong passes from the point between



Clasp and single strap
proceeding to instep
Nanded District,
Maharashtra

Clasp with two straps
attached to instep
Guntur District
Andhra Pradesh

Instep made
of several pieces
Kolhapur District,
Maharashtra

Clasp and instep
unconnected by
strap
Andhra Pradesh

Instep formed of several
straps, some placed
crosswise
West Godavari District,
Andhra Pradesh

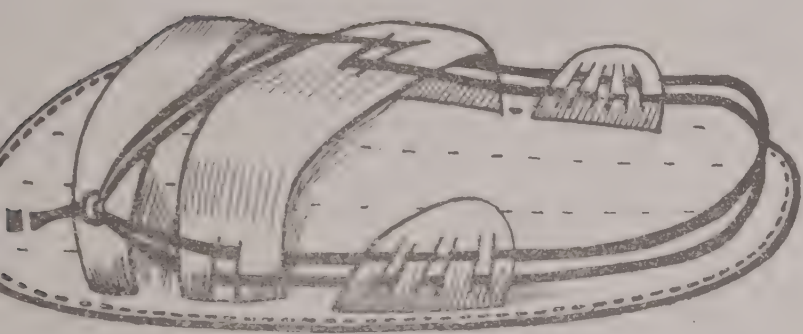
great and the first toe towards a broad strap which goes over the instep. Both arrangements may also exist by side. The strap over the instep may be single or double or even multiple. Sometimes two such straps are strengthened by diagonal straps laid across one another.

The distribution of this type is found in most of the districts of Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Mysore States, forming one zone. This zone further extends up to the northern and eastern districts of Maharashtra.

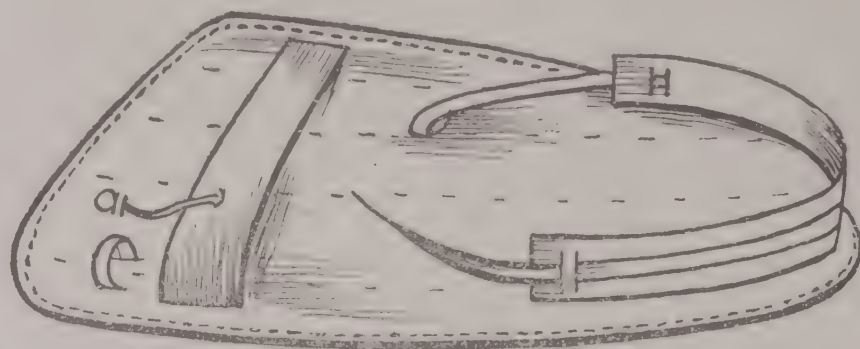
Women are also found to use the same types of foot-wear in the western districts of Gujarat and Maharashtra and in the northern districts of Mysore. Instances are also found where such sandals are in use in other parts of the country like Coimbatore, Madurai and Chingleput districts in Madras, and in some portions of Madhya Pradesh.

One variant of the sandal has a strap to fix it to the heel. Functionally, however, it can be placed under the shoe family. Its distribution, in the case of men, is found in the districts of Durg, Raipur and Betul in Madhya Pradesh and, in the case of women, it is in use in the south-western and south-eastern districts of Madhya Pradesh.

(b) A variant of the sandal is the slipper, which is open at the heel, but in which instead of leather thongs, half the uppers of an Indian unlaced shoe is sewn on to the sole instead. In most of the southern districts of West Bengal, such slippers are commonly used by men. Muslim women are often found to use this type of slipper in West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, while it also occurs in the northern parts of Gujarat, south-eastern districts of Rajasthan, in some portions of Madhya Pradesh and in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State.



Durg District, Madhya Pradesh



Durg District, Madhya Pradesh



24-Parganas District, West Bengal



Vidyasagari type of slipper,
Hooghly District, West Bengal



Hindu Women's slipper,
Datia District, Madhya Pradesh

(c) The Indian shoe is rather low in its uppers, and it is lowest in the middle. The toe-end is rarely broad and rounded; it is frequently pointed. There is often a narrow tip which is folded upwards, occasionally backwards when it may even be sewn on to the upper in an ornamental fashion.

The areas primarily marked by the use of the shoe forms one compact zone, extending from the southern districts of Maharashtra up to the northern districts of Jammu and Kashmir State, covering the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, the Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh except the Raigarh district and Uttar Pradesh, some portions of Bihar and the Purulia district of West Bengal State.

There are a few variants of the Indian shoe. These have been described and their distribution indicated below.

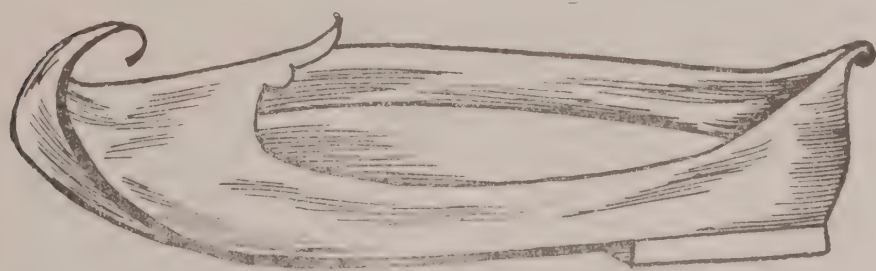
SHOE

(1) *Nagra Type* : This type of shoe has a slightly raised end at the back. The toe-end is pointed and forms a wisp sewn backwards. The sides of the shoe are low and the length from the back to the upper cover at the instep



Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh

is more. It fits tight to the foot as one walks. It is found in all the districts of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. It may be noted here that in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, the portion behind the heel is occasionally pressed down

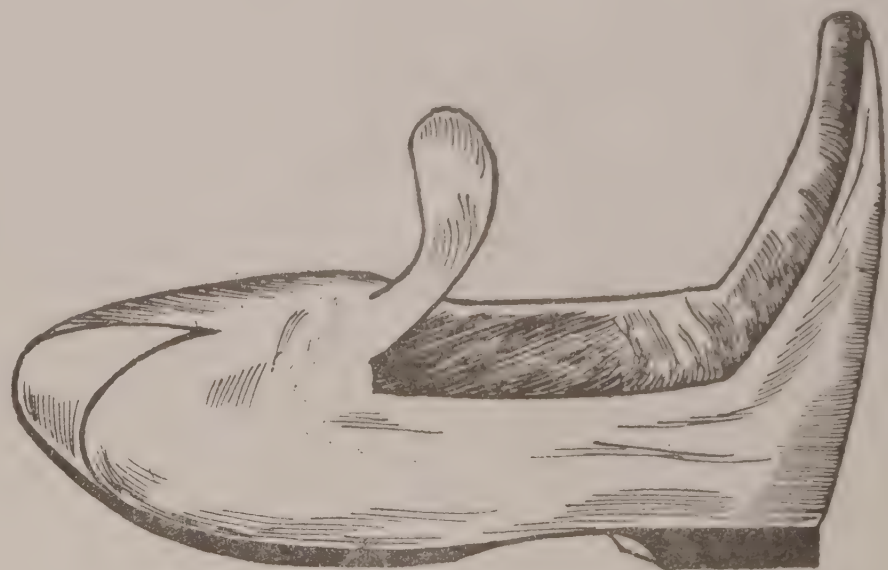


Satna District, Madhya Pradesh

and the shoe is then worn like a slipper. The same practice, as we shall see, is also in vogue in Maharashtra.

There are local variations, but these may be disregarded for the present.

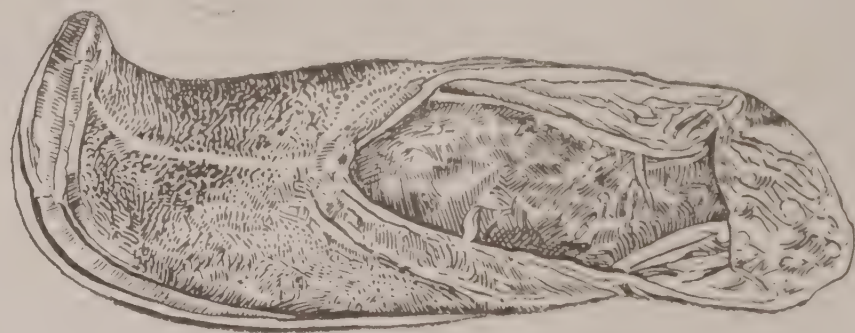
(2) *Bundelkhand Type* : This is a kind of shoe in which the upper cover at the instep and the back are raised high, so that the front and back portions of the lower calf are covered; the shoe has a pointed toe-end which is slightly



Jhansi District, Uttar Pradesh

curled upwards. Besides Bundelkhand, it is found in Jhansi and Hamirpur districts of Uttar Pradesh and in the Datia district of Madhya Pradesh.

(3) *Maharashtrian Type* : Just as there is a kind of sandal which comes near the shoe in function, though not in form, so also there is a shoe which is more akin to the sandal or slipper functionally. This is the Maharashtrian shoe in which the portion for covering the heel is built, but then crushed down when the shoe is worn like a slipper.

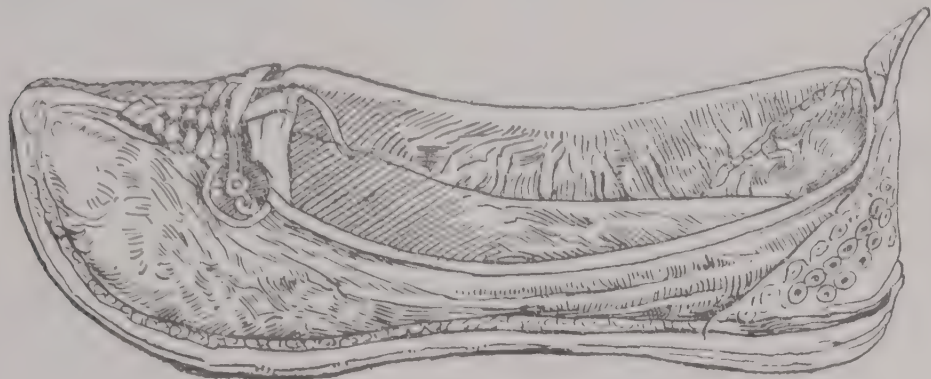


Poona District, Maharashtra

This type is distributed in Maharashtra, especially in the western districts of the State. As we have said, the shoe is occasionally used in the same manner in Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab.

The unlaced Indian shoe is worn by women also. The areas covered by the use of this are the whole of the Punjab

and Rajasthan and the southern districts of Saurashtra and Kutch in Gujarat. It is also present in some southern districts of Madhya Pradesh.



Rajkot District, Gujarat

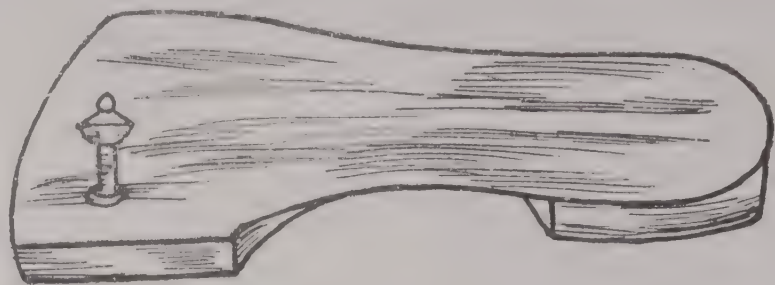
MISCELLANEOUS TYPES OF SHOES

There are a few special types of localized distribution. Wooden soles with uppers of leather, shoes made entirely of goat hair or strings made of coir are also in use. But they lie more within the range of curiosities. The Himalayan districts of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh are the areas where such shoes are found in use by both men and women. These have been collectively designated as belonging to the Hill Type.

WOODEN SANDAL

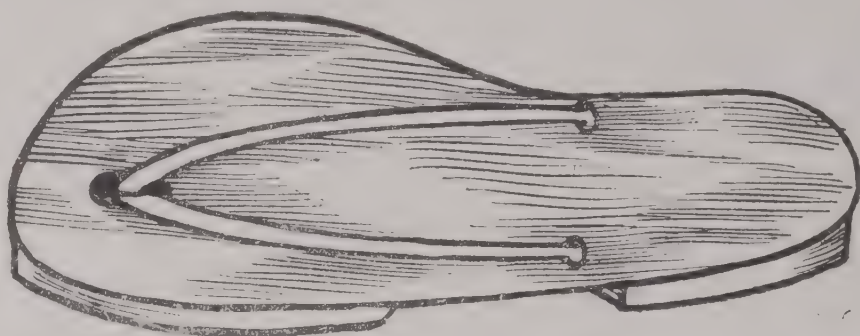
Wooden sandals are held to the foot by means of a toe-peg. Grass strings fixed between the great and the first

toe and passing over to the sides of the instep are also employed. There is, however, no strap over the instep. Wooden sandals are in fairly common use among men in



Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh

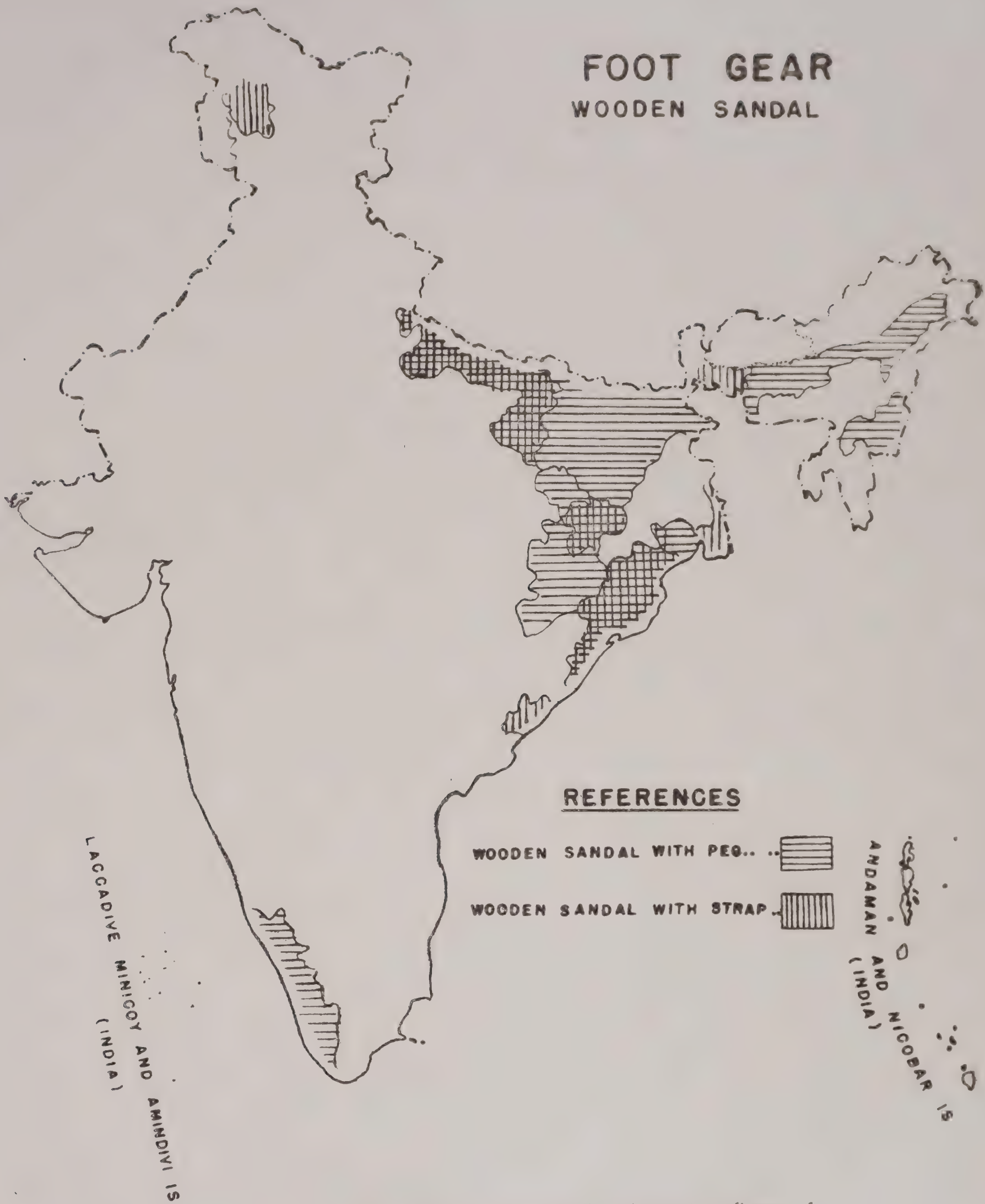
Orissa, West Bengal, portions of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh and the northern districts of Uttar Pradesh. It is also present in the northern districts of Jammu and Kashmir State, Coorg district of Mysore State and in the whole of



Varanasi District, Uttar Pradesh

Kerala State. Women are also found to use them in some portions of West Bengal and Assam.

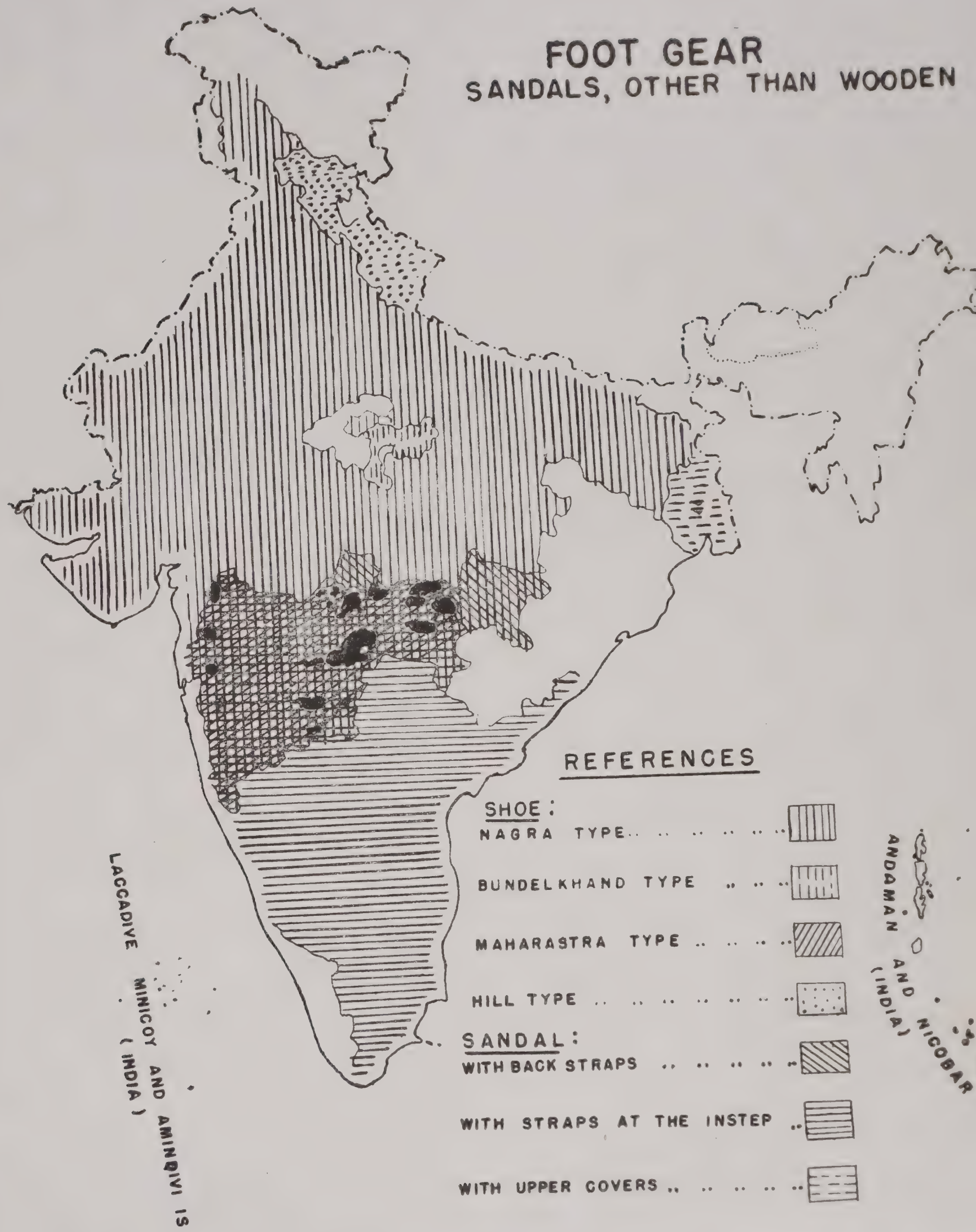
FOOT GEAR WOODEN SANDAL



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.



FOOT GEAR SANDALS, OTHER THAN WOODEN



REFERENCES

- SHOE :**
- NAGRA TYPE
 - BUNDELKHAND TYPE
 - MAHARASTRA TYPE
 - HILL TYPE
- SANDAL :**
- WITH BACK STRAPS
 - WITH STRAPS AT THE INSTEP
 - WITH UPPER COVERS

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

IX BULLOCK CARTS

P. K. MISRA

Bullock carts form a very important feature of rural India. It is possible to classify them into two or three classes depending upon the nature of the wheel. Two of these again can be further sub-divided in accordance with the size of the wheel or the nature of certain wooden supports which are fixed at the outer ends of the axle which project through the hub. We are limiting ourselves here to bullock carts used for the purpose of transporting goods. Passenger carts are of a little more elaborate design; and for our present purposes we are leaving them out of consideration. The three classes of wheels are as follow.

SPOKELESS WHEEL

Here the wheel is built up by fixing together three thick planks of wood and shaping them by means of an adze into a circular form. Such wheels are generally low and are limited to the following districts : Ranchi and Palamau in



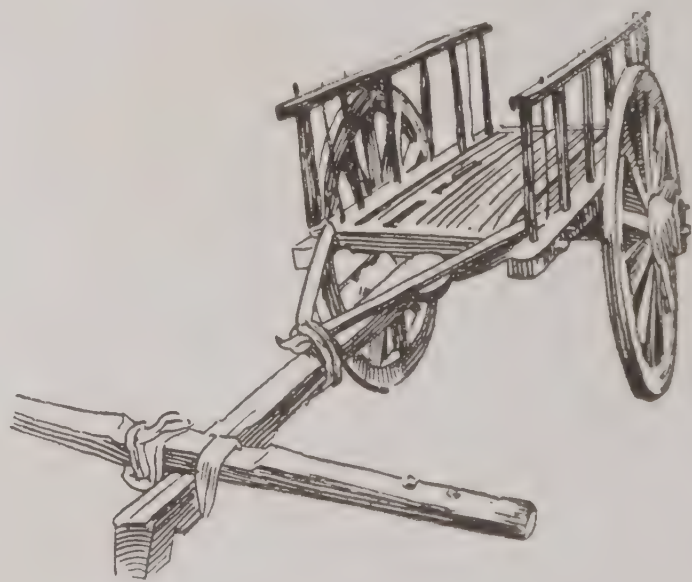
Spokeless wheel,
Ranchi District, Bihar

Bihar; Sidhi, Shahdol, Bilaspur, Raipur, and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh; Nizamabad in Andhra Pradesh; Osmanabad, Nanded, Aurangabad, Buldana, Bhir, Parbhani in Maharashtra; Dharwar, Shimoga, Mandya and Mysore in Mysore; Allahabad, Pratapgarh, Fatehpur and Hardoi in Uttar Pradesh.

It may be pointed out here that McKay has observed with reference to terra-cotto wheels in children's carts in Mohenjodaro that they are of the solid type; and that they resemble very much the low Sindhi carts in use today. From a plate it appears that the wheels of the cart in Sindh are made up of three (or four?) broad planks joined to one another as in the spokeless wheels of middle India. Only, in the former case the upper and lower pieces are shaped like segments while the middle one is slightly scooped out in the middle so that the wheel has two oval openings in the body. This is unlike the wheels of middle India which are solid.*

RADIAL SPOKES

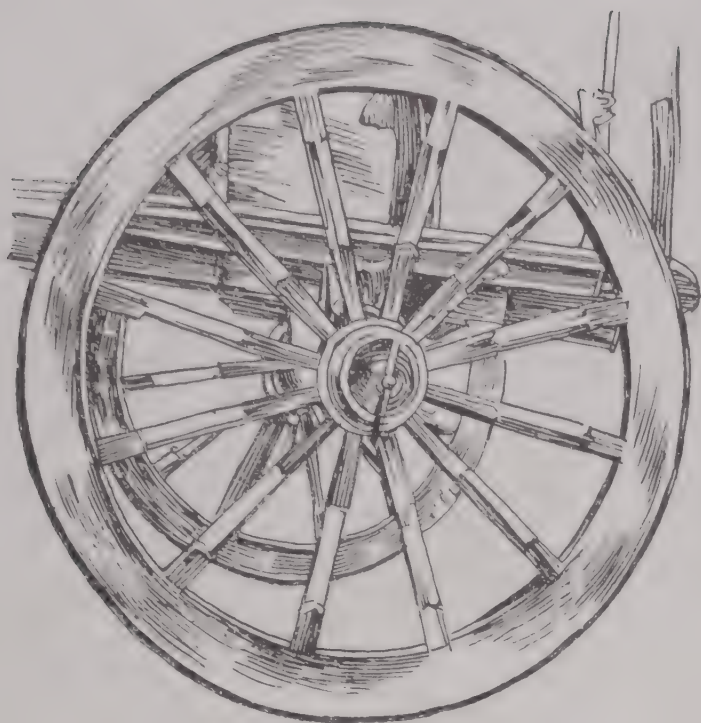
Wheels with radial spokes fixed between the hub and felly cover the whole of Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Andhra



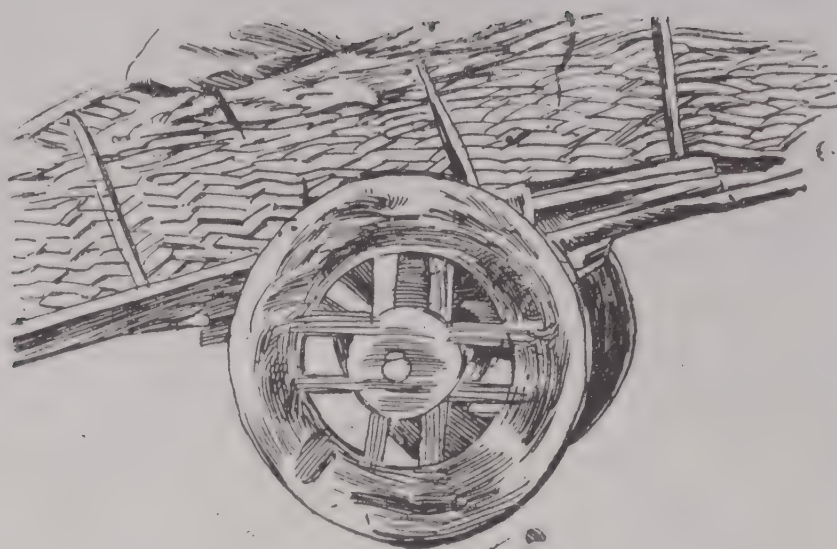
Radial spoked wheel
Tiruchirapalli District, Madras

Pradesh, Maharashtra, nearly the whole of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. In Orissa and in northern Gujarat it exists along with the third type of wheel with paired spokes. It occurs also in Sasaram and Purnia districts in Bihar; Balia and Gazipore in Uttar Pradesh; in Kashmir;

*McKay, Ernest, *Early Indus Civilization*, 1948. pl. xxix.

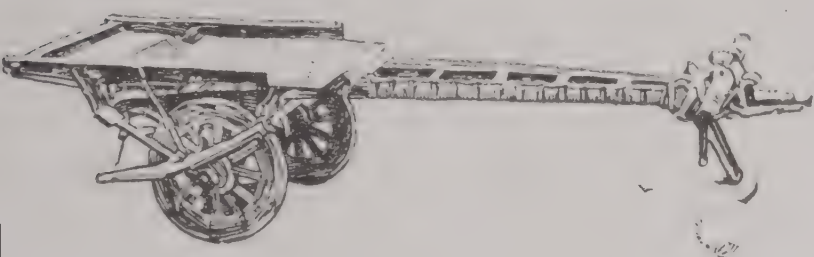


Radial spokes in wheel
Palghat District, Kerala



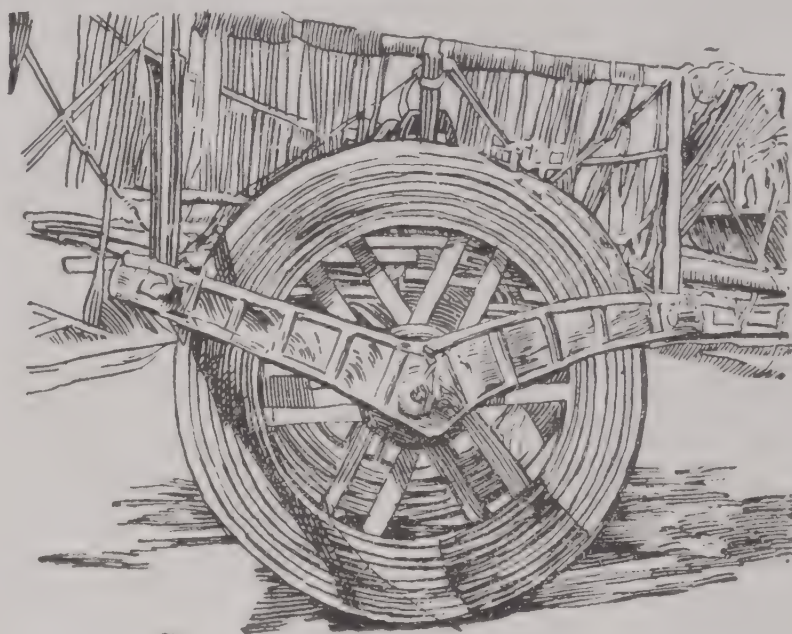
Four pairs of spokes in wheel
Ahmedabad District, Gujarat

Howrah, Midnapur, 24-Parganas and Jalpaiguri districts
West Bengal; in the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley



Radial spokes in wheel showing attachment to axle,
Junagadh District, Gujarat

icts, and in Manipur. In Orissa, the paired and the
al spokes both occur as in northern Gujarat.



Wheel with attachment to axle
Bharatpur District, Rajasthan

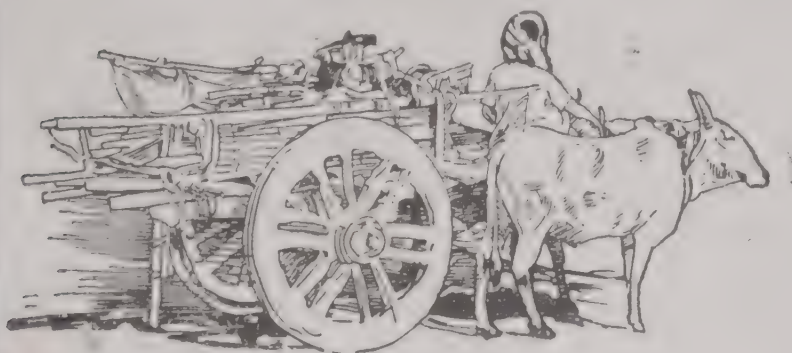
RED SPOKES

The wheel with paired spokes is of interesting cons-
tion. The spokes occasionally run through the hub
n one segment of the rim to the opposite one. It is

it and the hub; while the thinnest pair runs through both
of the thicker pairs and the hub.

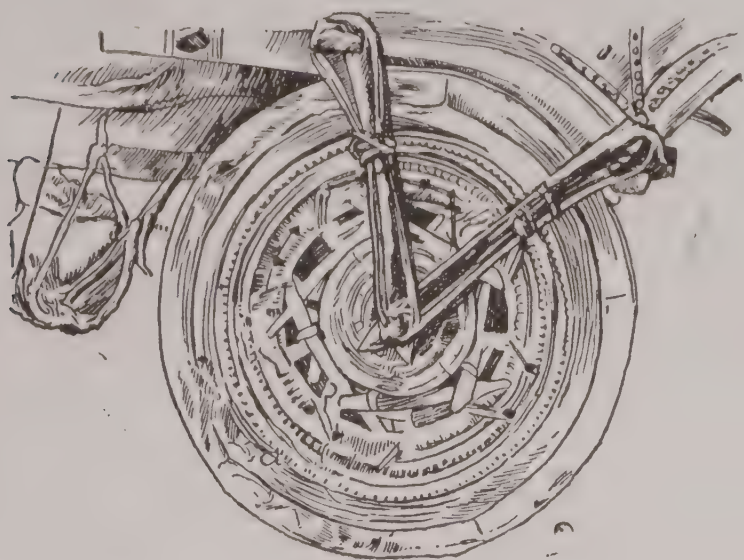
This paired arrangement of spokes is distributed all
along the northern plains from Amritsar and Ferozepur in
the Punjab to the West Bengal districts of Dinajpore, Malda,
Murshidabad, Birbhum and Nadia. In Hooghly, the radial
and the paired exist together.

We shall now deal with the sub-types of the two kinds
of wheels described above. The unspoked wheel does not
seem to have any sub-type. Coming to the region of radial
wheels, we notice that in the Rajasthan districts except
Udaipur, Sirohi, Tonk, Sawai-Madhopur, Alwar, Bharat-
pur, Bundi, Kota, Jhalawar and portions of Jaipur and



Six pairs of spokes in wheel,
Singlibhum District, Bihar

Ganganagar, the wheel with radial spokes has a very broad felly. Consequently, the spokes are reduced considerably



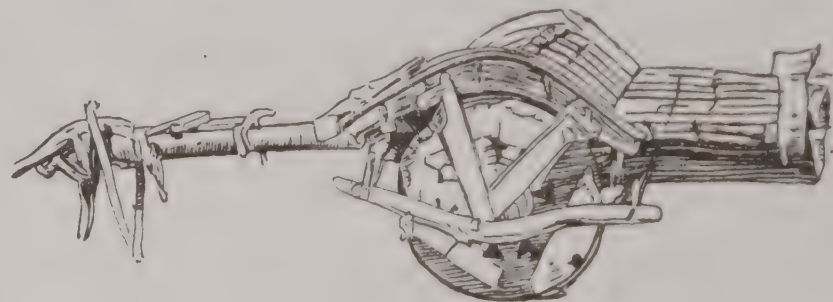
Cart having small wheel, short spokes
and broad felly,
Jaisalmer District, Rajasthan

in length; they are on an average only about 3" or a little more.

The wheels vary very much in size and this gives us a means of demarcating certain sub-regions in the area covered by both radial as well as paired spokes. The accompanying map shows the distribution of wheels of different sizes, between 3' 1" to 4' is medium; 4' 1" to 5' and above is very high. An examination of the map shows very clearly that small wheels are distributed in one large contiguous block in middle India, while three are examples again covering the whole of Rajasthan and Kutch with a little extension into Saurashtra. Medium and high wheels occur on the whole towards the north. High wheels are present in large portions of eastern and southern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar. It is also present in Baroda and Kaira in Gujarat; in Thana in Maharashtra; in coastal and central Orissa, and in Koraput; in the neighbouring districts of southern Bastar in Madhya Pradesh; and Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh. But in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, the type becomes either high or very high. The highest ones are present in some districts of Andhra Pradesh and also in the southernmost districts of Madras and the whole of Kerala. It appears that the highest size is actually attained in Guntur, Krishna and the two Godavari districts, where it is not unusual to find wheels of a diameter of 6' and over.

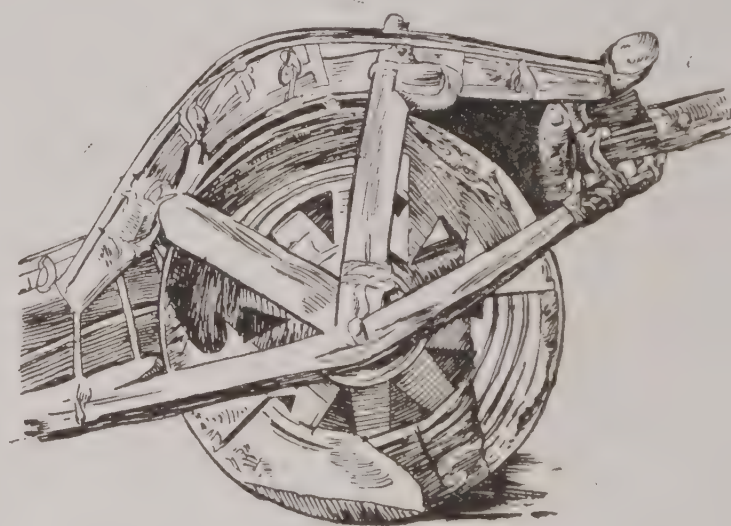
There is one more characteristic which marks some of the northern types with both radial and paired spokes. This

feature is formed by a kind of support which is given to the axle as it projects through the hub; either a single horizontal piece or a curved piece, or a combination of either with a V-shaped double strut forms this support. The en



Thick radial spokes, curved platform in cart
Chitorgarh District, Rajasthan

of the strut or the curved or straight support are all fixed tightly to the frame-work of the bullock cart either by means of their struts or by tightly tying them by means



Wheel showing attachments,
Chitorgarh District, Rajasthan.

ropes. It is interesting that this kind of outer support to the axle is limited more or less to the north-western districts of India and is present both when the spokes are radial or paired in arrangement, and the wheels big or small in size.

Of this axle-support, again, several sub-types can be distinguished. The accompanying figures will indicate their types as well as their restricted distribution.

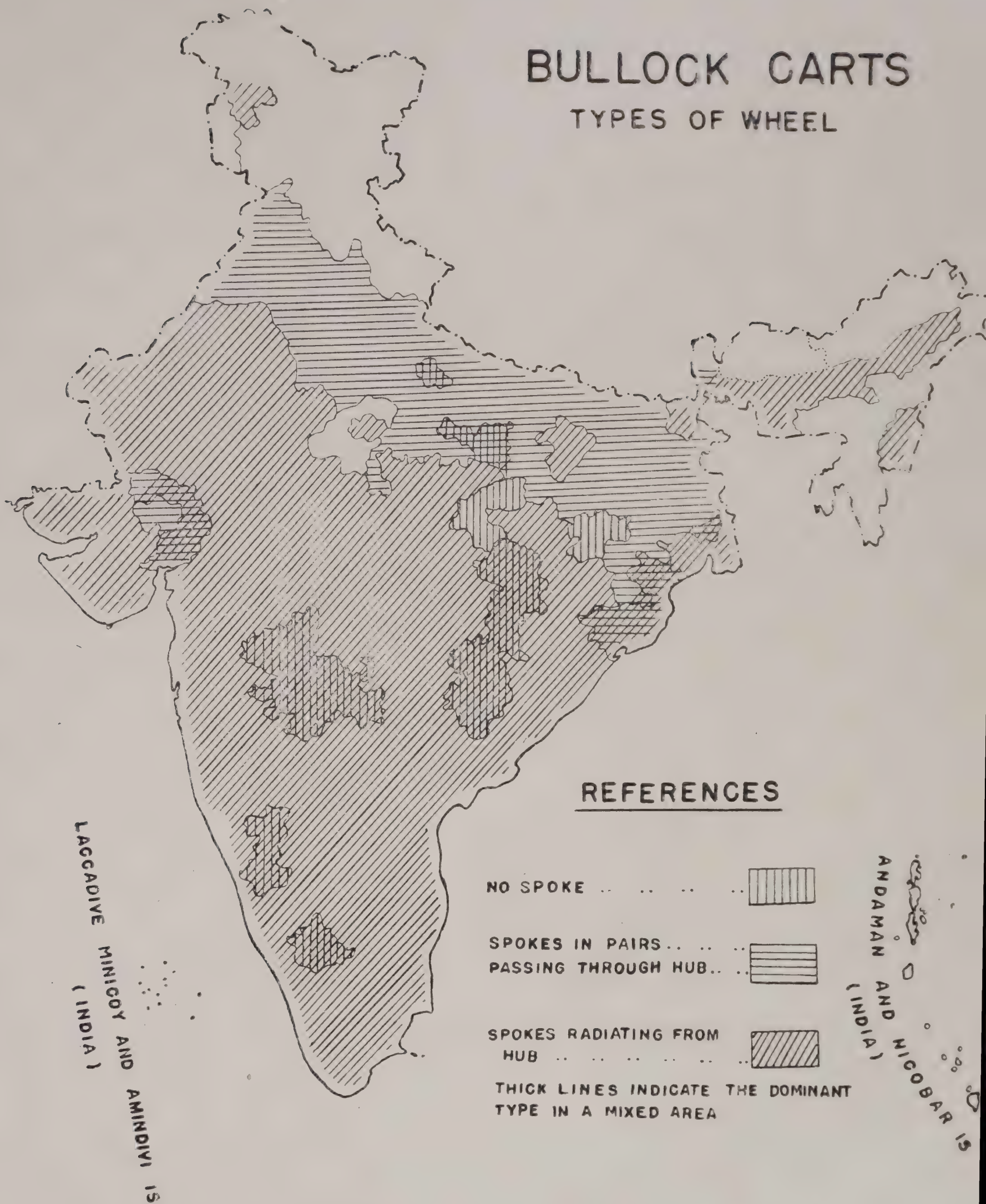
Bullock carts in India can moreover be classified by means of the shape of the platform, the two walls or kind of balustrade which lines both sides of the platform and also by the nature of the waggon cover. But we

attempting this in the preliminary report presented here. When fuller reports are prepared, this will be made use for indicating the proliferation of styles and sub-styles in different regions of India.

Bullock carts with radial spokes are also in use in Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, etc.; but wheels with paired spokes seem to be an Indian speciality, and here too it is confined more or less to the northern plains.

BULLOCK CARTS

TYPES OF WHEEL

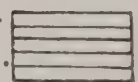


REFERENCES

NO SPOKE



SPOKES IN PAIRS
PASSING THROUGH HUB



SPOKES RADIATING FROM
HUB

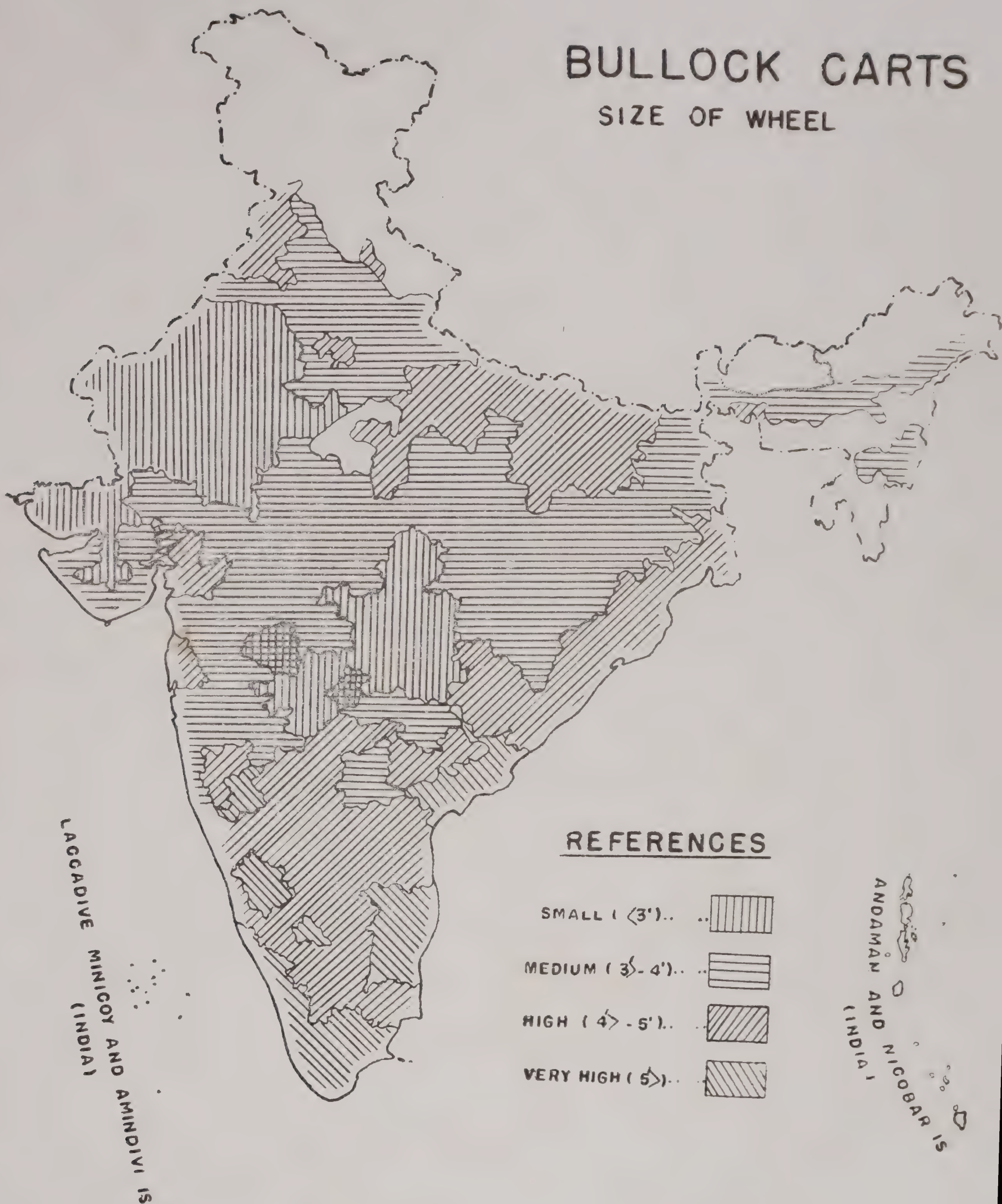


THICK LINES INDICATE THE DOMINANT
TYPE IN A MIXED AREA

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

BULLOCK CARTS

SIZE OF WHEEL



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

APPENDIX I

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

CENTRAL INDIA STATION, DHARAMPETH EXTENSION, NAGPUR
4th October, 1959

DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED TRAITS IN THE RURAL AREAS OF INDIA

Objectives : Drawing up of maps of zones and sub-zones of selected material traits which appear to have persisted over long historical periods. This will provide in a broad sweep a comparable picture for the major cultural regions of India and will thus provide the background for detailed study of cultural processes in future.

The Unit of Study : At the initial phase the village is to be our unit of observation. It is our aim to study at least one village per district for all the districts of India. But, how to select that one particular village? Variations in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills and jungles and to major river resources are some of the possible sources of variation. At the preliminary stage we may decide to study first of all a village of at least average size (as per Census Report of 1951, consisting usually of about 300-500 people) which should be multi-ethnic in composition, mainly depending on agriculture and sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. If a particular district contains significant ecological variations within its area, or a large tract inhabited by a special cluster of ethnic groups we may need to survey one or two more villages in addition, to study the special adjustments to these ecological variances, such as hills and jungle areas (which may contain tribal villages) and riverine tracts and also variation in terms of ethnic concentration. It may be helpful to contact a good number of informed persons at the district headquarters to get an idea of regional variation within the district before selecting a particular village for survey. It should not take more than 7 days to study one village.

Record in considerable detail the local names of objects and technical processes.

Traits for Study :

A. Material traits—In studying the following traits—data are to be collected on each item from persons belonging to the highest caste, a caste in the intermediate position and a member of the lowest caste in the village. Data should also represent a substantial cultivator, an ordinary cultivator and a very poor or landless family.

1. Settlement pattern :

- (a) A rough lay-out of the village allocating settlement areas, water resources, drainage, agricultural fields, pastures, village jungles, if any, graveyards, burning ghat, etc. (The field worker may try to obtain the cadastral map of the village from the District Land Record Officer).

2. House Types

- (a) Plan of a dwelling with distribution of huts in the family compound ; significant variations, if any, in terms of caste or class.
- (b) Details of construction—plan, plinth, wall, roof (number of slopes in the roof), arrangements for ventilation. Materials used for construction ; sources of the materials—local or outside.

Who builds the house ? Specialists or others ?

3. Diet :

- (a) Staple food—cereal or otherwise (yam, etc.)
- (b) Other items of food commonly taken—pulses, vegetables, protein diet—meat, beef, chicken lamb, goat, etc., milk and milk products, sweets, spices, oil—animal and vegetable, salt.
- (c) Meals (courses : average festive and ceremonial occasions and seasonal variation).

Note also the mode of cooking and serving meals and the observance or ritual cleanliness with regard to taking food such as bathing, washing hands, putting on special types of dress, offering to gods, etc.

- (d) Fat or oil most commonly used for cooking in average as well as ceremonial meals.
- (e) Cooking utensils (baking, boiling and frying, etc.) hearth and fuel.

4. Dress and ornaments and foot-wear :

For adult men and women for different major economic classes and castes—ordinary, festive and ceremonial occasions.

Note also whether the dress is prepared in the village or procured from outside.

5. Common means of transport of goods and passengers :

Human borne, pack animals, carts, boats, etc.

How does the bride or bridegroom ride to the marriage booth ?

6. Domesticated animals and birds, etc., in the villages :**7. Crops grown :**

- (a) Cereals
- (b) Pulses
- (c) Horticultural produce
- (d) Perennial crops such as betel nut, cocoanut, etc.
- (e) Oil seeds.

How many crops are grown in a plot during the year ?

8. Agricultural tools for rice cultivation and for cultivation of other cereals, pulses and horticulture in general.

This would include digging, levelling, sowing, transplanting, weeding, reaping, threshing, husking, storing implements.

Whether the implements are made in the villages or procured from outside ?

Technique of cultivation : whether dry or wet farming is practised ?

9. Common oil press : Description of the oil press—showing details of parts.

How is it drawn : men, bullocks—single or double, eyes closed or open.

How is the oil extracted ?

10. Common basketry : Types (form and technique) and their common use.

Who are the basketry makes ? Caste.

11. Pottery (earthen) : Types and their common use—Caste.**12. Village Census :** Number of households (hearthwise) belonging to different ethnic groups in the village and its hamlets. (Use attached schedule).**13. Occupation :** A quick survey of occupation may be made under the following 3 columns :**Contemporary**

Traditional	Major	Subsidiary
The above data are to be collected in the presence of a good number of adult villagers. "Hearth" as the unit is to be repeatedly emphasised. The field worker may directly place the question as to why a particular caste is giving up the traditional occupation and record the response.		

14. Markets attended : Which markets are most commonly visited, for what purpose? (mileage).

Other markets occasionally visited ; why visited ?

Any special articles available there ? (mileage).

B. Gods and Festivals :

1. Village Gods : Shrines in the Villages, names of the deities in the shrines, description of the emblems. Purpose of worshipping the deities. Priests (caste)—whether maintained communally or individually ; what articles are offered to the deity—animal sacrifice, if any (names of animals).

2. Annual festivals in the village : Month by month—within the village or outside, if visited by the villagers (mileage). The central themes of these festivals are to be noted briefly in one or two lines.

C. Village Sanitation and Hygienic practices :

1. Places for deposition of ordinary refuse.
2. Process of evacuation and subsequent cleanliness, Ablution.
3. Other observations on general sanitation of the village.

APPENDIX II

CULTURE ZONE SURVEY

HEADING FOR CARDS

- 1 Settlement pattern
- 2 House type
- 3 Diet : staple
- 4 Diet : other items
- 5 Diet : meals
- 6 Diet : fats or oils used
- 7 Cooking utensils
- 8 Dress : male
- 9 Dress : female
- 10 Ornaments
- 11 Foot-wear : male & female
- 12 Bullock-carts
- 13 Other means of transport
- 14 Domesticated animals and birds
- 15 Crops : cereals
- 16 Crops : pulses
- 17 Crops : horticultural products & cash crop
- 18 Crops : perennial
- 19 Crops : oil-seeds
- 20 Agricultural tools : digging
- 21 Agricultural tools : levelling
- 22 Agricultural tools : sowing
- 23 Agricultural tools : transplanting
- 24 Agricultural tools : weeding
- 25 Agricultural : reaping
- 26 Agricultural tools : threshing
- 27 Agricultural tools : husking
- 28 Agricultural tools : storing
- 29 Agricultural tools : miscellaneous
- 30 Technique of cultivation
- 31 Oil-press
- 32 Basketry
- 33 Pottery
- 34 Population & Occupation
- 35 Markets
- 36 Shrines
- 37 Festivals
- 38 Village sanitation : deposition of miscellaneous refuse
- 39 Village sanitation : evacuation and subsequent ablution
- 40 Village sanitation : other observations
- 41 Language

- 3 Drainage
- 4 Agricultural fields
- 5 Graveyard and burning ghat
- 6 Miscellaneous

2. House type

- 1 Plan of houses in a domicile
- 2 Plan of a particular house
- 3 Plinth
- 4 Wall
- 5 Roof
- 6 Ventilation
- 7 Materials used and sources
- 8 How the different portions of the house are utilized
- 9 Variation
- 10 Builder

5. Diet : Meals : Here as regards mode of cooking emphasis is to be laid only on :

- 1 Preparation of the staple food
- 2 Dal or lentil soup

8 How the different portions of the house are utilized

Data should cover those of the head, upper and the lower part.

Note : In describing the dress of females in item 9, the typical signs of marriage in regard to dress, decoration and ornaments and also the typical sign of a widow should be noted.

10 Ornaments

- 1 Ear
- 2 Nose
- 3 Neck
- 4 Wrist
- 5 Arms
- 6 Feet
- 7 Miscellaneous

12 Bullock carts

Adequate information should be presented on the nature of the wheel, attachment of the wheel to the body of the cart, the body, cover the yoke.

SUB-HEADING UNDER MAIN ITEMS

1. Settlements

- 1 Arrangement of houses
- 2 Sources of water

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36 Shrines

Data may be presented under the following heads

- 1 Shrines
- 2 Deity
- 3 Priest (caste)
- 4 Offerings
- 5 Purpose of worship

- 2 Drinking water
- 3 Cleaning of cloths
- 4 Cleaning of beds
- 5 Spitting habits
- 6 Ventilation
- 7 Care of teeth
- 8 Miscellaneous

37 Festivals

- 1 Name of the festival
- 2 Month, fortnight and day
- 3 Time
- 4 Central theme
- 5 Remarks

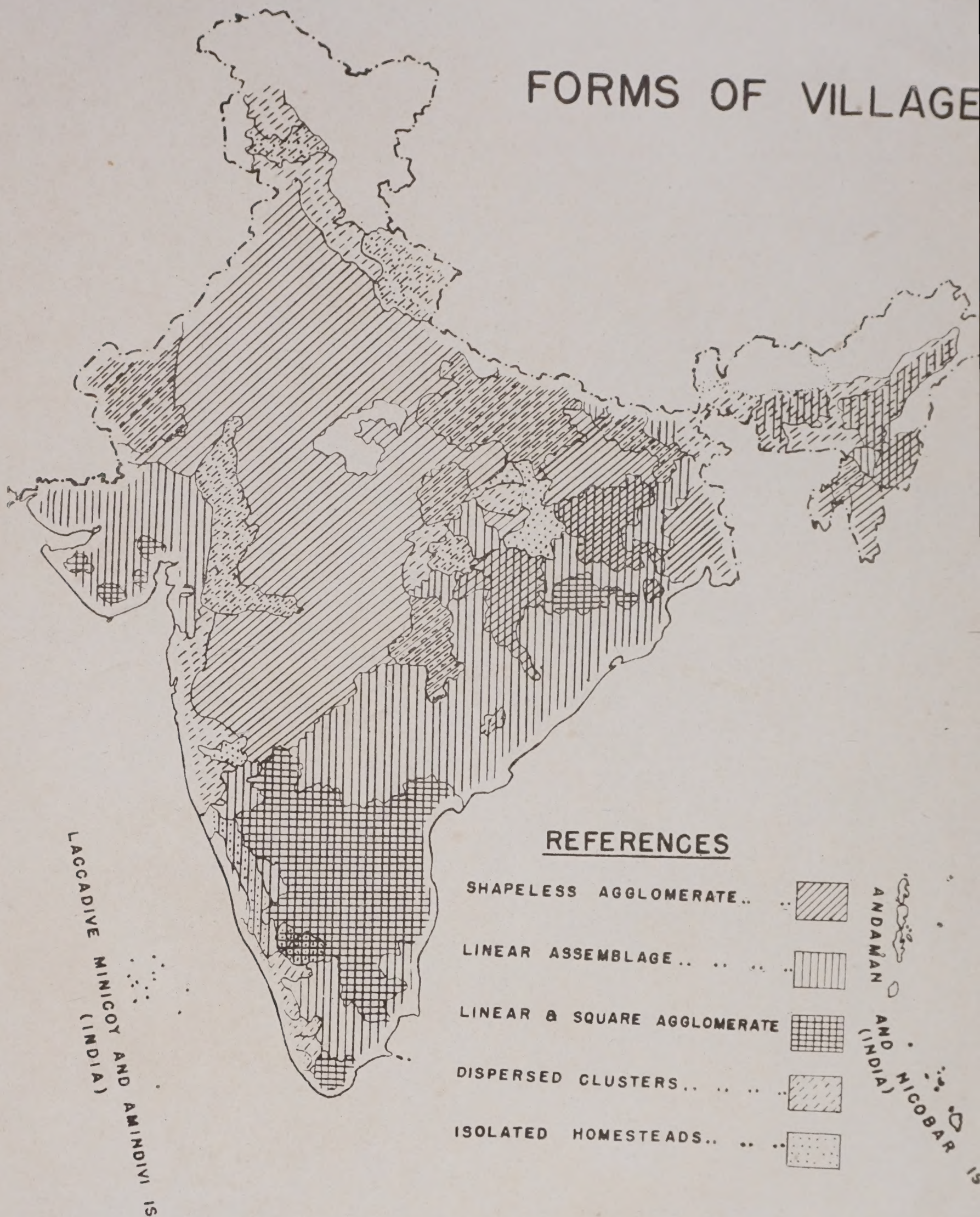
41 Population & Occupation

- 1 Sr. No.
- 2 Caste group
- 3 Traditional calling
- 4 Contemporary calling
(a) Major (b) Subsidiary
- 5 No. of household
- 6 Population
- 7 Remarks

40 Village sanitation and other observations

- 1 Bath

FORMS OF VILLAGE



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

